Anal. fp. 14

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

NEW-HAMPSHIRE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

FOR THE YEAR 1824.

VOLUME I.

CONCORD:

PUBLISHED BY JACOB B. MOORE.

1824.

H322.8,

US 11507.6

~~B~~

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY

1868, Apr. 24.
Gift of
Mrs. Eliza Wentworth Haven,
of Portsmouth, N. H.

5144
50-171
31

CONTENTS.

Article.		Page.
I.	Sketch of the Formation of the N. H. Historical Society	5
II.	Memoir of the Hon. Samuel Penhallow	9
III.	Penhallow's History of the Indian Wars, &c.	13
IV.	Letter from Samuel Penhallow to Dr. Cotton Mather	133
V.	Letter from Nathaniel Weare, Esq. to Major Pike	135
VI.	Address to Queen Anne, 1707	140
VII.	Lieut. Gov. John Wentworth's Commission, 1717	142
VIII.	Order of the King in Council respecting Fort Dummer	143
IX.	Vote of Massachusetts relating to the same	145
X.	Letter from Gov. Shirley to Gov. Wentworth	146
XI.	Indian Deeds to Wheelwright and others, 1638	147
XII.	List of Congregational Ministers in Hillsborough county	150
XIII.	Historical Sketch of Concord, New-Hampshire	153
XIV.	Note on the Penacook Indians, in New-Hampshire	218
XV.	Answers to Queries from the Lords of Trade and Plantations	227
XVI.	Census of 1775	231
XVII.	Deaths in Fitzwilliam, N. H. for 21 years	235
XVIII.	Continental and Militia Troops in the American War	236
XIX.	Topographical Description of Enfield, N. H.	237
XX.	Account of the Great Whirlwind in N. H. Sept. 9, 1821	241
XXI.	Newspaper Extraordinary, 1689	252
XXII.	Witchcraft in New-Hampshire, 1656	255
XXIII.	Letter from Oliver Cromwell to Rev. John Cotton	258
XXIV.	The last Will of Capt. Myles Standish, 1655	259
XXV.	Powers delegated to Lieut. Gov. Cranfield, 1682	261
XXVI.	Deposition of John Foulsam, 1684	264
XXVII.	Order respecting the currency of New-Hampshire, 1683	265
XXVIII.	Robert Mason's Deposition, 1684	265
XXIX.	Order of Council, 1685	266
XXX.	Articles of Complaint against Lieut. Gov. Cranfield	267
XXXI.	Affidavits respecting Sir Edmund Androsse, 1690	269
XXXII.	Old Tenor Table, 1750	273
XXXIII.	Lieut. Gov. Dunbar's Queries to his Council, 1733	275
XXXIV.	Deposition of Elizabeth Miles, 1754	277
XXXV.	Register of New-Hampshire, 1768	279
XXXVI.	Bill of Mortality for Rochester for 47 years	283
XXXVII.	Letters relating to Dr. Belknap's History of N. H.	284
XXXVIII.	Topographical and Historical Sketch of Bedford, N. H	288

Article. *Page.*

XXXIX. Ancient Documents 297

1. *Indian Deed to Rev. John Wheelwright and others, 1629, with Remarks on its authenticity, by Gov. Plumer . . . 299
2. Council of New-England's grant of N. H. to Capt. John Mason 304
3. *Letter from John Mason and others to Ambrose Gibbons . . 310
4. *Letter of Ambrose Gibbons to the Company, 1633 . . . 311
5. *Letter from Neal and Wiggin, 1633 311
6. *Letter from Gorges and Mason to Warnerton and Gibbons, 1634 311
7. *Letter from Mason to Gibbons, 1634 311
8. *Letter from Gibbons to Mason, 1634 311
9. Grant from the Council of Plymouth to Capt. Mason . . . 311
10. Grant of N. H. and Masonia to Capt John Mason 313
11. *Commission of the King for regulating the Plantations . . 313
12. Extracts from the Will of Capt. John Mason 317
13. *Letter from Vaughan to Gibbons, 1636 321
14. Agreement of the settlers at Exeter, 1639 321
15. Agreement of the inhabitants upon Pascataqua 322
16. Vote of the British Parliament, 1642 323
17. An Act of Parliament for promoting the Gospel, 1649 . . . 324
18. Resolve of the Commissioners of the United Colonies respecting the Quakers 326
19. Petition of Robert Mason and others for lands in N. H. and Maine 327
20. Report of Sir G. Palmer upon Mason's title 328
21. Order of the King to refer Mason's claim 330
22. Report of the Referees upon Mason's title 330
23. Petition of Robert Mason to the King 333
24. *Commission to Col. Nichols and others, 1664 334
25. *Petition of Robert Mason to the King 334
26. *The Declaration of Massachusetts, respecting the Claim of Gorges and Mason 334
27. *Order of the King respecting Gorges and Mason's claim . . 334
28. *Letter from Edward Randolph to Josiah Winslow . . . 335
29. Mr. Jones' opinion upon Mason's claim 335

Those Articles having a * are not inserted, but the titles are given for the sake of chronological order and arrangement, and a reference is made to the work, where each article may be found.

SKETCH

OF THE FORMATION OF

THE NEW-HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Two hundred years had elapsed from the first settlement of New-Hampshire before the formation of its Historical Society. Dr. Belknap had collected and embodied in his History of the State the most important incidents of a public nature, and secured them for posterity. But much of interest, especially to the inhabitants of the State, remained to be gleaned from ancient manuscripts, public records, fugitive publications, and the recollections of the aged, which was thought to be worth collecting and preserving. It was apparent that the united and systematic efforts of an association of individuals from various parts of the State could accomplish that to which private industry would be unavailing. The labors of the Historical Society of Massachusetts*—honorable alike to the members and the Commonwealth, had proved the importance and usefulness of such an institution. The formation of a similar Society in New-Hampshire had been for several years contemplated, and gentlemen had occasionally interchanged sentiments in conversation and by letter upon the subject.

As a wish was simultaneously expressed from different parts of the State, that the close of the second Century from its first settlement should be noticed by a public celebration, and as it was supposed, that this celebration would bring together the friends of historical research, it was determined to improve this opportunity of forming an Historical Society. A Literary Socie-

---

* The *Massachusetts Historical Society* was instituted at Boston, in January, 1791, and was incorporated February 19, 1794. From the time it was formed to 1823, it published 20 volumes of Collections, in two decades of 10 volumes each, 8vo. This Society must be considered the parent society of all similar institutions in the United States. It has been followed by the *New-York Historical Society*, instituted in the city of New-York, December 10, 1804, and incorporated February 10, 1809; the *Essex Historical Society*, in Massachusetts, incorporated June 11, 1821; the *Maine Historical Society*, incorporated in 1822; the *Rhode-Island Historical Society*, incorporated in June, 1822; and the *New-Hampshire Historical Society*, instituted May 20, 1823, and incorporated June 13, 1823. It is not unreasonable to expect that similar institutions will, at no distant period, be formed in each of the United States.

ty in Portsmouth addressed letters, dated March 3, 1823, to a Committee of eighteen gentlemen,* in the counties of Rockingham and Strafford, requesting them to meet and make arrangements for the contemplated celebration. That Committee met at Exeter, March 13, and after attending to the subject particularly referred to them, associated with them other gentlemen present on the occasion, and calling the Hon. Ichabod Bartlett to the chair, and appointing Professor Hosea Hildreth, Secretary, proceeded to consider the expediency of forming a Society for the purpose of discovering, procuring and preserving whatever may relate to the natural, civil, literary, and ecclesiastical history of the State. It was the unanimous opinion of the meeting, that it was expedient to form such a Society, and a Committee was appointed to invite a limited number of gentlemen to attend at Portsmouth, on the 20th of May following, for that purpose.

Twenty-one gentlemen convened at Portsmouth, May 20, 1823, and formed themselves into an Historical Society. Measures were taken to obtain an act of Incorporation,† which passed both branches of the Legislature, and was approved by the Governor, June 13, 1823. On the same day, the Society was organized at the Capitol in Concord, under its charter, adopted the constitution reported by Messrs. Plumer, Noyes, and Plumer, jr., a committee previously appointed to draft the same, and elected its officers for the year ensuing.

---

*Hon. Ichabod Bartlett, Gen. Timothy Upham, Alexander Ladd, Esq. and Nathaniel A. Haven, jr. Esq. of Portsmouth; Mr. Charles Cushing, of Little Harbor; Hon. Andrew Peirce, James Bartlett, Esq. and Charles W. Cutter, Esq. of Dover; Stephen Mitchell, Esq. of Durham; David Barker, jr. Esq. of Rochester; John Kelly, Esq. of Northwood; William Smith, Esq., Oliver W. B. Peabody, Esq. and Col. Peter Chadwick, of Exeter; Samuel Dana Bell, Esq. of Chester; Jacob B. Moore, Richard Bartlett, Esq. and John Farmer, Esq. of Concord.

† The act of Incorporation, Constitution, and By-Laws of the Society, with a List of Articles on which the Society wish for information, books and pamphlets wanted by the Society, and the names of the members, have been published in a pamphlet of 24 pages, 8vo.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

Elected June 13, 1823.

President,

Hon. WILLIAM PLUMER, of Epping.

Vice-Presidents,

Hon. LEVI WOODBURY, of Portsmouth,
Rev. BENNET TYLER, D. D. of Hanover.

Recording Secretary,

JOHN KELLY, Esq. of Northwood.

Corresponding Secretary,

NATHANIEL A. HAVEN, jr. Esq. of Portsmouth.

Treasurer,

GEORGE KENT, Esq. of Concord.

Librarian,

JACOB B. MOORE, of Concord.

Standing Committee,

NATHANIEL ADAMS, Esq. of Portsmouth,
Rev. NATHAN PARKER, D. D. of do.,
Prof. HOSEA HILDRETH, of Exeter.

Committee of Publication,

Hon. WILLIAM PLUMER, jr. of Epping,
PARKER NOYES, Esq. of Salisbury,
JOHN FARMER, Esq. of Concord.

The preceding officers were re-elected at the annual meeting, June 9, 1824, for the ensuing year.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

Page 18, Last line, for 1672, read 1692.

Page 31, Note after Pascomuck, last line. [Now a part of East-Hampton, Massachusetts.]

Page 46, Add the following note, making the reference after *revenge* the last word in the 3d paragraph.

[On the same day, Thomas Sawyer and his son Elias Sawyer, and John Bigle were taken captive from Lancaster.—*Harrington's Cent. Serm.*]

Page 56, Add the following note, reference after *garrison*, last word in the first paragraph.

[July 16. 1707, Mr. Jonathan White, of Lancaster, was killed by the Indians.—*Harrington.*]

Page 57, Add a note, reference after *captive*, 5th line. [Jonathan Wilder.]

Page 221, 6th line from bottom for Tonch read Toneh.

COLLECTIONS.

Memoir of the Hon. Samuel Penhallow, one of the Counsellors of the Province of New-Hampshire, and author of a Narrative of Indian Wars, &c.— By Nathaniel Adams.

To trace the principal events in the lives of eminent men of former times, is always desirable, but frequently attended with difficulty. Their cotemporaries have not always been careful to record those deeds, which have led them to eminence; nor has tradition in every instance been faithful to hand them down to posterity undiminished. Time, the great devourer of all things, preys upon the evidence designed to perpetuate virtuous actions with unabated appetite; and the destroying flames sometimes consume those evidences which have escaped the ravages of time. These misfortunes have attended the author of the narrative of the Indian wars. His descendants, some of whom now fill important offices in the State, have been able to preserve but few anecdotes respecting him; and a diary which he kept for many years, in which he had noted some of the most remarkable incidents of his life, as well as the passing events of the day, was destroyed by the fire, which laid waste a considerable part of the town of Portsmouth, in December, 1302. A short extract from this diary has been preserved in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Samuel Penhallow was born at St. Mabon, in the county of Cornwall, in England, the second day of July, 1665. His ancestors had possessed a landed estate in that county. His father was attached to the dissenting interest, and was intimate with the Rev. Charles Morton, rector of the parish of Blisland in the same county. Morton became obnoxious to the ruling party, and was silenced for non-

conformity to the rites and ceremonies of the established church. He removed to Newington-Green, near London, where he opened a school for the instruction of youth, in the various branches of literature. His school soon became famous, and numbers resorted to it for education. In 1683, Penhallow being then about eighteen years of age, was placed under his care. He pursued his studies with diligence, and made such progress as not only to gain the approbation of his instructor, but to attract the attention of other gentlemen of science. He continued with Mr. Morton about three years, and until his school was broken up. The bishops and ecclesiastical authority of the Church did not choose that dissenters and puritans should be employed to superintend the education of the rising generation; and prohibited Mr. Morton from pursuing that employment. Mr. Morton then determined to take refuge in New-England, where he could enjoy that liberty of conscience, which was denied him in his native land. He had an affectionate attachment to his pupils, and requested some of them to accompany him. The subject of this memoir was one that was selected on this occasion, to whom Mr. Morton promised his favour and assistance. Penhallow with the consent of his parents accepted the proposals; they embarked for this country and arrived here in July, 1686. Before they left England, the society for propagating the gospel among the Indians, offered Penhallow twenty pounds sterling a year for three years, if he would make himself acquainted with the Indian language; and sixty pounds a year, afterwards during life, if he devoted himself to the ministry, and preached to them "at times." Soon after their arrival here, Mr. Morton had an invitation to take charge of the church at Charlestown, which he accepted. How long Penhallow continued with him is uncertain.—He probably pursued his studies for sometime, according to his original design of qualifying himself for the ministry; whilst he resided at Charlestown

he was admitted a member of the church under Mr. Morton's pastoral care. But the political troubles, which took place in Massachusetts about this time, discouraged him from entering into the ministry, and he removed to Portsmouth ; at what precise time doth not appear. Soon after his settlement here, he married Mary Cutt, a daughter of President Cutt. She inherited from her father, a valuable patrimony, part of which consisted of a tract of land, on which a large portion of the town of Portsmouth is built. Mr. Penhallow engaged in trade, and with the property he had received by his wife, accumulated a great estate. He erected the brick house which stood at the head of the pier ; where he lived in a style superior to most of his fellow townsmen of that day. He was given to hospitality. His house was open to every stranger of distinction who visited the town ; and the poor found in him, at all times, a friend ready to relieve their distress. His influence in the town was great, and he took an active part in the management of their affairs. He was early appointed a magistrate, and in the execution of that office, he was prompt, decisive and firm ; and literally "a terror to evil doers." So great was his abhorrence of vice, that he proceeded with great severity towards those who were arraigned before him, especially when he discovered any symptoms of guilt. He received a mandamus as one of his Majesty's Council, and took his seat at the board. For some years after his appointment, the business of the Council was conducted with harmony, or at least without any personal altercation. When Lt. Governor Vaughan took his seat, he assumed more power than many thought belonged to him. Disputes took place between him and Governor Shute on the subject.— Penhallow warmly espoused the cause of the Governor and opposed Vaughan's pretensions. Vaughan highly resented Penhallow's conduct, and suspended him from the council. Governor Shute hastened to Portsmouth as soon as he heard of these

transactions, reinstated Penhallow and suspended Vaughan. Matters were soon restored to their former peaceable state, and business was transacted with its usual ease and decorum. In the council, Mr. Penhallow was an active and influential member, and as senior counsellor, he presided with dignity and impartiality.

The Recorder of deeds was appointed by the house of Representatives, and Mr. Penhallow had received that appointment. The records and files which had been taken from Chamberlaine, were deposited in the Recorder's office, subject to the orders of the General Court. Whilst Lt. Gov. Usher was in office, he was desirous of having the control of those papers, because he expected to find among them the papers relating to Mason's suits, which had been carefully kept from him. He procured an order from the Lords of Trade and Plantations, who had the direction of all provincial affairs, that they should be placed in the secretary's office. Application was made for them to Mr. Penhallow, but he absolutely refused to deliver them unless he was authorized to do it by an act of the General Court.—Neither the threats nor the entreaties of the Lt. Governor had any influence upon him. This refusal shews the great firmness of his mind, and that he was not to be overawed by persons of higher grade in office, when their commands were in opposition to what he thought his duty.

In 1714, Mr. Penhallow was appointed a Justice of the Superior Court of Judicature; and in 1717, Chief Justice of the same Court, which office he held until his death. A strong mind, improved by education, added to his long acquaintance with public business, enabled him to discharge the duties of the office with as much credit to himself, and benefit to the public, as could be expected from any one not bred to the profession of the law.

Mr. Penhallow likewise held the office of Treasurer of the Province for several years; his last account is dated the 9th of November, 1726, and

signed by him,but was settled by his Executor with a committee of the General Court after his decease. He transferred his connexion from the Church in Charlestown to that in Portsmouth, in 1717. In his last will he gave a legacy to the poor of the church, of which he was a member, and another to the Rev. Mr. Fitch, his pastor.

Judge Penhallow filled many of the most important offices in the government, and discharged the duties attached to them with great integrity. His firmness and perseverance were essential qualities in a person concerned in the administration of government, in the turbulent times in which he lived, and the publick reaped the benefit of them. His attachment to the country increased with his residence in it, and he used his constant endeavours to promote its best interests.

He died at Portsmouth the second day of Dec. 1726, aged sixty-one years and five months.

Penhallow's Indian Wars.

[The Publishing Committee of the New-Hampshire Historical Society, have thought proper to republish in the first volume of their Collections,the whole of Penhallow's Indian Wars,with the addition of such notes as might serve to increase the value of the information in the text. This work had become so exceedingly scarce,that it was with some trouble a complete copy could be found. The difficulty of procuring one, may be perceived from the following extract of a letter from one of the most distinguished antiquaries of New-England, to whom the Committee wrote, in order to procure a transcript of the title page, which was lost in the copy from which this is printed. "I am very sorry that I could not seasonably procure for you an entire copy of PENHALLOW'S INDIAN WARS, in furtherance of your very laudable design of a re-publication. Finding that the copy which I used in the compilation of American Annals, was imperfect, the time and place of its publication being wanting, and not being sure where I procured it, though I supposed from the Library of our Historical Society, I knew not where I could obtain an entire one for you. On the reception of your last letter, I concluded first to make a careful inquiry and search at our College Library, thinking, after all, it might be there,—and, at the same time, to inquire of the members of the American Academy, who were soon to meet in Cambridge, for a private copy. The Academy met yesterday—but I found none; nor could Judge Davis, the most likely of any one to inform me, tell me where a copy could be found. I examined the College Library, with the help

of the Librarian, but could find none. I then determined to try the Historical Society's Library. Having engaged the Librarian to be there at a certain hour this afternoon, I went to the Library, and found the Volume, and, to my great joy, the *title page* entire, though in great jeopardy; the two next leaves, containing the *Preface*, by Dr. Coleman, being entirely loosened from the book. I send you an exact copy of the title page, and hope it will reach you in sufficient season." Excepting in the title page, the committee have not followed the ancient orthography, it being exceedingly various; nor the mode in italicising proper names, &c. and in beginning substantives with a capital letter.]

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Wars of *New-England* with the *Eastern* Indians,

OR A

NARRATIVE

Of their continued Perfidy and Cruelty,

from the 10th of *August*, 1703,

To the Peace renewed 13th of *July*, 1713.

And from the 25th of *July*, 1722,

To their Submission 15th *December*, 1725,

Which was ratified *August* 5th, 1726.

By Samuel Penhallow, Esqr.

Nescio tu quibus es, Lector, lecturus ocellis,
Hoc scio, quod siccis, scribere non potui.

BOSTON:

Printed by T. Fleet, for S. Gerrish at the lower end of Cornhill, and D. Henchman over against the Brick Meeting-House in Cornhill, 1726.

THE PREFACE.

It is one part of our honor and happiness in this country, among the many difficulties and troubles which have attended the settlements and growth of it unto this day, that there have not been wanting from time to time, honest and worthy persons, and some learned, who have delivered down to posterity a plain and true account of the wars which we have had with the Indian natives in one part of the land and in another.

We owe much to those who have done us this service from the beginning, and they have herein served God, as well as obliged the world. For it always has been, and ever is like to be a grateful thing to mankind, to be informed of the rise and growth of provinces, and of the sufferings of their feeble infant state. From the days of Moses, who wrote the first history, the beginning of the world, and of Israel, the wise and pious among men have scarcely known a more sacred pleasure, nor found a more profitable entertainment, than in tracing the footsteps and windings of Divine Providence, in the planting of colonies and churches, here and there, through the earth.

Nor let it seem vain in me to say, that in the settlement of the New-England churches and provinces, there have been some circumstances so like unto those of Israel of old, (after their entrance into Canaan,) that I am persuaded no people of God under heaven can sing of his mercies and judgments in the inspired phrase* with more direct and pertinent application, than we can do. The subject of the following book affords us the most special instance hereof; namely, that although our merciful and gracious God did in a wonderful manner, cast out the heathen before our fathers, and planted them; prepared also room before them, and caused them

* 70 and 80 Psalms, and part of 105, 106, and 107 Psalms.

to take deep root and to fill the land, so that the vine hath sent out her boughs unto the sea, and her branches upon the river; yet to humbly improve us, and for our sins to punish us, the righteous God hath left a sufficient number of the fierce and barbarous savages on our borders, to be pricks in our ears, and thorns in our sides, and they have been and are like the boar of the woods to waste us, and the wild beast of the field to devour us.

Wherefore, on principles both humane and religious, I gladly introduce the following memoirs to the public view, with my hearty thanks to the honorable author for the great pains he has taken (among other his public services) to transmit these particulars of the two last wars with the Indian enemy down to posterity, that the generation to come might know them, and set their hope in God, and not forget his works, but keep his commandments.

The Reader must not expect much entertainment or curiosity in the story of a barbarous war with cruel and perfidious savages. It is the benefit of posterity in a religious improvement of this dry and bloody story, that we aim at, in preserving some remembrance thereof. And that in times to come, when we are dead and forgotten, materials may remain for a continued and entire history of our country; and we hope that they who come after us will take the like care in their times for the children that shall be born.

Let it suffice, in praise of the narrative, if the facts related be true and exact, and that the style be familiar, plain and easy, as all historical memoirs should be written. As to the truth of it, none (I suppose) will have any doubt, to whom the author is known; and to whom among us is he not known? Or by whom among the lovers of the country is he not esteemed for his affectionate regard unto the civil and religious liberties of it?

The Rev. Dr. Mather wrote the *Remarkables of the Eastern war* before this, from the year 1688 unto the year 1698, ten years, wherefore he called his

book *Decennium Luctuosum.* This book may claim the like title, for the first war here related, from August 10, 1703, to the 13th July, 1713, did also continue just ten years.

To these ten years of trouble and distress, the author has added an account of another but shorter war of three years, from July 25, 1722, to December 15, 1725, when the savages by their delegates renewed their submission, and signed articles of peace in the Council Chamber in Boston; for the lasting effects whereof we are humbly waiting on a gracious God with our earnest prayers. And we owe abundant praises to his holy name for the great successes, with which he has been pleased to crown the councils and arms of the province in this last short war; to the humbling the insolent enemy and bringing them so soon to sue for the peace which they had broken. Not unto us, O Lord! not to us, but to thy name give glory; for thy mercy and for thy truth sake!

In a special manner, the wonderful victory obtained August 12, 1724, over the bold and bloody tribes at Norridgewalk, and their sudden destruction that memorable day, was the singular work of God;—And the officers and soldiers piously put far from themselves the honor of it. The plain hand of providence, and not their own conduct, facilitated and quickened their march. God sent them timely information where the Indians had placed their guards upon the river, that they might shun them, and so come upon the town undiscovered. God brought them on it in a right time, when the fighting men were just come in from abroad, and the next day (we are told) they were to have come down on our frontiers. They were surprized in the height of security, and so amazed that they could not find their hands when they would have escaped.—This destruction of the enemy was with the loss of only one life, and two wounded on our part. And he, who was the father of the war, the ghostly fath-

er of those perfidious savages, like Balaam the son of Beor, was slain among the enemy, after his vain endeavors to curse us.

May those singular favours of God have their saving effects on us! and his goodness to us on the present fruits of peace, which we are about to reap; lead us to repentance, bind us to obedience, raise us in Devotion, and endear his blessed name and truths and ways to us. Amen.

BENJAMIN COLMAN.*

Boston, Jan. 28, 1725–6.

INTRODUCTION.

THE keeping a register of memorable occurrences, as it has been the practice of former ages, so it ought to be continued for the advantage of posterity. And inasmuch as the Divine Providence has placed me near the seat of action, where I have had greater opportunities than many others of remarking the cruelty and perfidy of the Indian enemy, I thought it my duty to keep a record thereof. Not that at first I designed to make these memoirs public, but now am persuaded to it by some whose judgment I pay a deference unto. In the collecting them, I have used all faithfulness; and have been assisted therein, not only from the abstracts of original letters, but from persons of the best credit and reputation, and yet doubtless some small occurrences may have slipt my knowledge.

I might with Orosius very justly entitle this history, *de miseria hominum*, being no other than a narrative of tragical incursions perpetrated by bloody pagans, who are monsters of such cruelty, that the words of Virgil may not unaptly be applied to them.

Tristius haud illis monstrum, nec Sævior ulla pestis et ira Deum.

[* Dr. Colman, one of the most eminent divines of New-England, and the minister of the church in Brattle-street, from August 4, 1699, to his death August 20, 1747, was a native of Boston, and born 19th Oct. 1673, and graduated at Harvard College, in 1672.]

Who are as implacable in their revenge, as they are terrible in the execution of it; and will convey it down to the third and fourth generation. No courtesy will ever oblige them to gratitude; for their greatest benefactors have frequently fallen as victims to their fury.

The Roman spectacles of old, were very lively in them repeated. God has made them a terrible scourge for the punishment of our sins. And probably that very sin of ours in neglecting the welfare of their souls. For we have not expressed the like laudable care for them, as hath been done in the southern and western parts of the country.—But indeed, we have rather aimed to advance a private trade, than to instruct them in the principles of true religion. This brings to my remembrance a remarkable saying of one of their chief sachems, whom (a little before the war broke out) I asked, wherefore it was, hey were so much bigotted to the French, considering their traffic with them was not so advantageous as with the English? He gravely replied, "that the Friars taught them to pray, but the English never did."

And it is also remarkably observable, that among all the settlements and towns of figure and distinction, not one of them have been utterly destroyed wherever a church was gathered.

But if the eastern parts have been remiss, this should no ways detract from the praise of that incomparable zeal of the venerable Mr. Eliot, and the indefatigable pains which the renowned Mr. Mayhew and others, have exercised in the instruction and conversion of the natives in their parts: wherein they were so far successful (through the blessing of God) as to form many churches of baptized Indians; and to gather many assemblies of catechumens,that profess the name of Christ; which remain to this day the fruit and reward of their labors, will bespeak their praise to future ages, and the thanksgiving of many to God.

S. P.

The History of the Wars of New-England, &c.

It is storied of Tissaphernes, that so soon as he entered into a league with Agesilaus, king of Sparta, he studied means whereby to infringe and violate the same. Upon which Agesilaus sent his Ambassadors unto him to return him thanks, that by so doing, he had made the Gods his enemies. Now considering the league that has been solemnized with the Indians, together with their cruelty and treachery so notoriously perpetrated, it is no wonder if in the sequel of this history, we find them under some signal remark of the Divine displeasure.

Not that I am insensible that many have stigmatized the English, as chiefly culpable in causing the first breach between them and us; by invading their properties and defrauding them in their dealings; but to censure the public for the sinister actions of a few private persons, is utterly repugnant to reason and equity. Especially, considering the great care that the legislative power had taken to protect the natives and their interests.

What hath formerly occurred of this kind is none of my business to descant upon here; but as to the infraction which I am about to make mention of, I never yet heard the least word in their favour, but all sorts of persons do condemn their perfidy.

At the arrival of Governor Dudley in the year 1702, the whole body of Indians was in a tolerable good frame and temper; but being animated by the French, they soon began to threaten and insult the English: upon which, in the succeeding year, June the 20th, a Congress was appointed at Casco, where the chiefs of the several tribes met, viz: Mauxis and Hopehood, from Norridgewock,* Wanungunt and Wanadugunbuent, from Penobscot, Wattanummon, Adiawando and Hegen, from Penacook† and Pigwacket.

[* Naridgewalk, in the copy. † Pennecook in the copy.]

Mesambomett and Wexar, from Amasconty, with about 250 men in 65 canoes, well armed, and mostly painted with variety of colours, which seemingly were affable and kind, and yet in some instances gave cause of jealousy.

A tent being fixed for entertaining the Governor and gentlemen who accompanied him, together with the Sagamores; his Excellency very kindly saluted them, saying, "That as he was commissioned by the great and victorious Queen of England, he came to visit them as his friends and brethren, and to reconcile whatever differences had happened since the last treaty."

At this, they made a pause, but after a short intermission, Captain Simmo, who was their orator, arose, and said, "That they acknowledged his favour in giving them a visit at such a juncture, with so many of the Council and gentlemen of both Provinces, assuring him, that they aimed at nothing more than peace; and that as high as the sun was above the earth, so far distant should their designs be of making the least breach between each other." And, as a testimony thereof, they presented him a belt of wampum, and invited him to the two pillars of stones, which at a former treaty were erected, and called by the significant name of the Two Brothers; unto which both parties went, and added a greater number of stones.

This ceremony being performed, several volleys were discharged on each side; and the Indians added their usual dancing, singing, and loud acclamations of joy. Trading-houses in several places were hereupon engaged; and that the price of commodities should be stated, and an armorer fixed at the public charge. Many presents were also made them, which they kindly received; so that every thing looked with a promising aspect of a settled peace: And that which afterward seemed to confirm it, was the coming in of Captain Boma-

zeen and Captain Samuel, who informed, that several missionaries from the Friars were lately come among them, who endeavored to break the union, and seduce them from their allegiance to the Crown of England; but had made no impression on them, for that they were as firm as the mountains, and should continue so, as long as the sun and moon endured.

The eastern inhabitants, who before had thoughts of removing, were now encouraged to stand their ground; several more were also preparing to settle among them, partly from the fertility of the soil, the plenty of timber, the advantage of fishery, and several other inducements. But I should have taken notice of two instances in the late treaty, wherein the matchless perfidy of these bloody infidels did notoriously appear. 1st. As the treaty was concluded with volleys on both sides, as I said before, the Indians desired the English to fire first, which they readily did, concluding it no other but a compliment; but so soon as the Indians fired, it was observed that their guns were charged with bullets; having contrived (as was afterwards confirmed) to make the English the victims of that day. But Providence so ordered it, as to place their chief Councillors and Sachems in the tent where ours were seated, by which means they could not destroy one without endangering the other! 2d. As the English waited some days for Watanummon (the Pigwacket sachem) to complete their Council, it was afterward discovered, that they only tarried for a reinforcement of 200 French and Indians, who in three days after we returned, came among them; having resolved to seize the Governor, Council and gentlemen, and then to sacrifice the inhabitants at pleasure; which probably they might have done, had they not been prevented by an overruling power.

But notwithstanding this disappointment, they were still resolved on their bloody design: for

within six weeks after, the whole eastern country was in a conflagration, no house standing nor garrison unattacked. August 10th,* at nine in the morning, they began their bloody tragedy, being about five hundred Indians of all sorts, with a number of French; who divided themselves into several companies, and made a descent on the several inhabitants from Casco to Wells, at one and the same time, sparing none of every age or sex.†

As the milk white brows of the grave and ancient had no respect shown; so neither had the mournful cries of tender infants the least pity; for they triumphed at their misery, and applauded such as the skilfullest artists, who were most dexterous in contriving the greatest tortures; which was enough to turn the most stoical apathy into streams of mournful sympathy and compassion.

The town of Wells, which valiantly stood its ground both in the former and latter war, suffered now great spoil, nor could escape without the loss of 39 that were killed and taken.

Cape Porpoise‡ being inhabited only by a few fishermen, was wholly laid desolate. But the garrison at Winter-Harbor defended itself with much bravery; yet it was at last overpowered by force, and then submitted on terms.

Saco-Fort was also attacked by the enemy with great fury; they killed eleven, and carried twenty-four captive.

Spurwink,§ which was principally inhabited by the Jordans, had no less than twenty-two of that family killed and taken.

Those at Scarborough were mostly in garrison, whom the Indians not willing to encounter, sent a

---

[* In the year 1703.]

[† The Indians took and killed 130 people. I *Belknap*, 264.]

[‡ Cape Porpess in the copy.]

[§ Spurwink is the settlement near Richmond's island in Maine. It was the seat of Robert Trelawney who early came over, and had a grant of nearly all the lands in Cape Elizabeth, and of the lands on the neck of Casco, and extending some way into the country.]

captive before with a flag of truce; but the officer being acquainted with their intrigues, slighted the message, secured the captive and made a vigorous defence. However, by a long siege, they were so reduced, that had not recruits been sent them, they had utterly been overthrown.

Perpooduck* was of all places (for number) the greatest sufferers, being but nine families, and no garrison to retire unto; neither any men at home, where they took eight, and inhumanly butchered twenty-five; among whom was the wife of Michael Webber, who being big with child, they knocked her on the head, and ript open her womb, cutting one part of the child out; a spectacle of horrid barbarity.

Casco,† which was the utmost frontier, commanded by Major March, who was all this while insensible of the spoil that the Indians had done, was saluted by Mauxis, Wanungonet, and Assacombuit, three of their most valiant and puissant Sachems. They gradually advanced with a flag of truce, and sent one before them, to signify that they had matter of moment to impart to him. At first, he slighted the message, but on second thoughts went out to meet them; they seeming to him but few in number, and unarmed: however he ordered two or three sentinels to be ready in case of danger. Their voice to him at first seemed like the voice of Jacob, but their hands were like the hands of Esau: *With their tongues they used deceit, and the poison of asps was under their lips.* For no sooner had they saluted him, but with hatchets under their mantles they violently assaulted him; having a number that lay in ambush near them, who shot down one of his guards: but being a person of uncommon strength, as well as courage, he soon wrested a hatchet from one of them, with which he did

[* Perpooduck is the point directly opposite Portland. *Greenleaf's* Eccl. Hist. p. 87.]

[† Casco was what was anciently called Falmouth. *Sullivan*, p. 213.]

good execution: Yet if sergeant Hook (with a file of ten from the fort) had not speedily succoured him, they would soon have overpowered him. Mr. Phippeny and Mr. Kent, who accompanied him, were attacked by others, and soon fell by their fury; for being advanced in years, they were so infirm, that I might say of them as Juvenal did of Priam, they had scarce blood enough left to tinge the knife of the sacrifice.

The enemy being defeated in this their design, fell upon the several cottages which lay round, and destroyed all they could. But the Major on rallying his men together, seeing nothing but fire and smoke, divided them into three parts, which were twelve in each, and interchanged them every two hours, who thus continued six days and nights without the least intermission; by which time the whole body of Indians came together being upwards of five hundred, besides French commanded by Monsieur Bobasser, who had ransacked and laid waste the several settlements before mentioned; and being flushed with success, having taken one sloop, two shallops, and much plunder, attempted to undermine the fort from the water side, in which they proceeded two days and nights, and probably would have effected their design, if they had not been prevented by the arrival of Capt. Southack, who raised the siege, retook the shallop, and shattered their navy, which was upwards of 200 canoes.

On Tuesday after,* Capt. Tom, with thirty Indians, made a descent on Hampton village, where they slew four, besides the widow Mussey, who was a remarkable speaking Quaker, and much lamented by that sect. They also rifled two houses near the garrison, but fearing a pursuit, drew off; it being

[* August 17, 1703.]

generally observed, that they seldom annoy but by surprize.*

By this time, Capt. Summersby was ordered with his troop to Portsmouth, and Capt. Wadley to Wells, with the like company of Dragoons; many concluding that the eastern parts would be the seat of action; and yet a few days after, advice was brought from Deerfield, (as a forerunner of some greater evil) of two men taken and carried to Canada; which so alarm'd the country, to see the frontiers insulted two hundred miles in length, that on September 26th, the Governor ordered 360 men to Pigwacket, one of their principal head-quarters: but thro' the difficulty of the passage, and unskilfulness of the guides, they returned without any discovery.

Capt. Davis at the same time had the like misfortune, who went to the ponds, but it seemed the enemy went eastward: For on the 6th of October, Capt. Hunnuell with nineteen men as they were going to work in their meadows at Black point,† were way-laid by two hundred Indians, who at one stroke killed and took the whole body excepting one, who like Job's messenger was preserved to give the melancholy account thereof. Upon this they attacked the fort, where only eight men were left under the command of Lieut. Wyatt, who by the encouragement of Capt. Willard, and Capt. Wells, that were there in two sloops, stood their ground some time, but being afterwards dispirited, they went on board Capt. Wells, and the enemy set the deserted garrison on fire.

Another company of Indians commanded by Sampson fell on York, where they slew Arthur Brandon's wife and five children, carrying captive with them the widow Parsons and her daughter.

[* On the 8th October, 1703. Zebediah Williams and John Nims, were taken prisoners at Deerfield, and carried to Canada. Williams died there; Nims, with some others, made his escape and returned to Deerfield in 1705.]

[† Black point was one part of Scarborough, Me.]

The former attempt on Pigwacket* proving unsuccessful, Colonel March went a second time with the like number of men, where he killed six Indians and took as many more with some plunder, which was the first reprisal that we made; but the enemy dispersing into small parties, did much more mischief than in larger; which put the country into a far greater confusion, insomuch that there was no safety to him that went out, nor him that came in, but dreadful calamity on every side.†

———*Terror ubique tremor*———

At Berwick, they ambushed five, and as the store ship was entering Casco, they entertained them so unexpectedly with a volley of shot, that the Master with three more were slain, and two in the boat wounded.

The general assembly being sensibly affected with the state of matters, and disposed to a vigorous prosecution of the war, enacted, that forty pounds should be given for every Indian scalp, which prompted some, and animated others, to a noble emulation. Capt. Tyng was the first that embraced the tender, who in the depth of winter, went to their head quarters, and got five, for which he received two hundred pounds. Major Hilton also with five companies more made the like essay, and so did Capt. Stephens, but returned with no other laurel than the safety of themselves and company.‡

The enemy went on daring and successful. They frequently followed the tracks of our men in their marches: At Berwick, they killed one,

[* This word is differently spelt. Winthrop has it *Pegwaggett*; Sullivan *Peckwalket* and *Pickwocket*; Belknap, *Pigwacket*. The true orthography is said to be *Pequawkett*.]

[† The success of Colonel March encouraged the government to offer a bounty of £40 for scalps. 1 *Belknap*, 265.]

[‡ Capt. John Gilman of Exeter, Capt. Chesley and Capt. Davis of Oyster river, marched with their companies on snow shoes into the woods; but returned without success. 1 *Belknap*, 266.]

wounded another, and burnt too houses. After that they made a descent on Andrew Neal's Garrison, where they were vigorously repulsed by Capt. Brown, who killed nine on the spot and wounded many more, which so enraged those wretches, that at their return they executed their revenge on Joseph Ring, who was then a captive among them, whom they fastened to a stake and burnt alive; barbarously shouting and rejoicing at his cries.

February 8th, Joseph Bradley's garrison of Haverhill was unhappily surpriz'd by a small scout, who skulking at a distance, and seeing the gates open and none on the sentry, rushed in and became masters thereof. The housewife perceiving the misery that was attending her, and having boiling soap on the fire, scalded one of them to death. The sentinel within was slain, and she with several others were taken; which was the second time of her captivity. But that which heightened her affliction was being with child, and yet obliged to travel in a deep snow, under a heavy burden, and many days together without subsistence, excepting a few bits of skin, ground-nuts, bark of trees, wild onions, and lilly roots. Nevertheless she was wonderfully supported, and at last safely delivered; but the babe soon perished for want of nourishment, and by the cruelty of the Indians, who, as it cried, threw hot embers in its mouth. After a year's bondage, she was sold to the French for eighty livres, and then redeemed by her husband.

The use of snow-shoes appearing very requisite for marching in the winter season, occasioned an act in both provinces for supplying the frontiers therewith: And this season, which before was dreaded as most hazardous, was now the time of greatest safety, and of less difficulty in travelling.

But the southern parts not thinking themselves in so much danger did in a little time become secure, which the enemy taking notice of, fell on

Deerfield, of which the Rev. Mr. Stoddard gave me the following account. That Colonel Schuyler, who was always a kind and faithful intelligencer, gave timely warning thereof, which awakened some, but was slighted by others: However, Mr. Williams, the worthy pastor of that place, was strongly possessed that the town would in a little time be destroyed; signifying as much in his publick ministry, and private conference; and could not be satisfied till he had got twenty soldiers to be posted there. A few nights before the assault was, they were strangely amused, by a trampling noise round the fort, as if it were beset by Indians. Towards morning, being February 29th, the enemy sent scouts to discover the posture of the town, who observing the watch walking in the streets, returned and put them to a stand: Awhile after they sent again and were advised that all was then still and quiet: upon which, two hours before day, they attacked the fort, and by the advantage of some drifts of snow, got over the walls. The whole body was above two hundred and fifty, under the command of Monsieur Arteil, who found the people fast asleep and easily secured them. The most considerable part of the town thus fell into their hands.

They left no garrison unattacked, excepting that of Capt. Wells; but at Benoni Stebbins's they met with some repulse, and lost several. Sixty of the English fell, whereof many were stifled in a cellar; and a hundred were taken captive,* who with a melancholy countenance condoled each other's misery, yet durst not express the anguish of their souls. That day and night were spent in plundering, burning and destroying. The next morning they withdrew into the woods, carrying with them their plunder and captives; among

[*The names of those persons who were killed and taken captive at Deerfield at this time, are preserved in Rev. Mr. Williams' *Redeemed Captive.* Appendix.]

whom was the Reverend Mr. Williams,* (before mentioned) whose sufferings, with his neighbors, through a deep snow, over mountainous desarts, were exceeding great; besides many trials and fears which they labored under.

The country being alarmed, several hastened to their relief; about thirty of those which first came, charged the enemy in the rear, and being strengthened with a further supply, pursued them with good success; but the enemy returning, and being much superior in number, killed nine of ours in the skirmish.

The day after, there was a considerable confluence from the lower towns, as well as from the county of Hartford, but for want of snow-shoes, were unable to pursue them. Some of our captives then in Canada, knowing the enterprize that was on foot, sent several letters unto their friends, which the enemy did carefully put into a bag, and hung it upon the limb of a tree in the high way; which letters were afterwards found and gave satisfaction of those that were then alive among them.

While the Indians by land were every way distressing of us, the French by sea were as industrious to impoverish us.

April 7th, 1704, they fitted out a privateer shallop with twenty seven men, to intercept our southern trade as they came laden with provisions; which if they had succeeded in, would not only have supplied their own indigent forces, but the Indians also; (who were then forming a desperate design against us) but through the favour of God to us, they were cast away on Plymouth shore. A like signal favour to us was the taking a store-ship of theirs (by our Virginia fleet) of forty guns, bound

[* Rev. John Williams was son of Stephen Williams, Esq. of Roxbury, where he was born Dec. 10, 1664; graduated at Harvard College 1683; ordained the first minister in Deerfield, May, 1686; captured by the Indians, Feb. 29, 1704; returned from captivity and arrived at Boston, Nov. 21, 1706; died June 12, 1729. He published a narrative of his captivity and sufferings entitled "The Redeemed Captive returning to Zion," which, in 1795, had passed through six editions.]

to Canada, in which were twenty officers, two thousand small arms, with amunition answerable; besides a vast number of crucifixes, and presents of a greater value for encouraging the Indians in acts of hostility against the English. In the engagement, their General was slain, the only man that fell in battle, by whose interest those stores were procured; which loss was so affecting, that (as some of our captives afterwards reported) it caused a deep humiliation throughout Canada a considerable time after.

As the spring advanced, it was thought necessary to guard the frontiers with fresh troops, upon which, Major Mason with ninety five of the Pequod, and Mohegan Indians, were posted at Berwick, who at first were very terrifying to the enemy: Yet frequent assaults were afterwards made at a little distance, as on April 25th, Nathaniel Meadar was shot while at work in his field. They mangled his dead corpse after a barbarous manner. Next day, they kill'd Edward Taylor near Lamprey-Eel River, and after that took his wife and son, whom they carried to Canada, and she was afterwards redeemed. From thence, they went to Cochecho, expecting to have made Mr. Waldron the victim of that day; but being happily from home, they missed their aim. However they surprized a servant of his, as she went to the well for water, whom (after they had examined concerning her master, the state of the garrison, and other affairs) they knocked on the head, but the stroke not proving fatal, she afterwards recovered.

After this, several were assaulted in the road to Wells, whereof two were killed, one taken, and another made his escape.

May 13th, an express came from North-Hampton, advising, that about break of day, a company of French and Indians, fell on a fortified house, at Pascomuck, where no watch being kept, the people

were alarmed in their beds, by the noise of the enemy's rushing on the house; and before the inhabitants could rise, the Indians had got their guns through the port holes, and shot those that first appeared, killing some, and wounding others. The surprized people made what resistance they could, firing briskly on the enemy; but the house being soon set on fire, they were forced to yield themselves prisoners. The enemy soon drew off, but fearing a pursuit, dismissed one of the wounded, with this caution, that if the English followed them, they would slay the prisoners; but the unfortunate messenger in returning back, was slain by another Indian. On the same morning, another party attacked a farm house, two miles off; but the fury of the dogs so alarmed the inhabitants, that they instantly got up and fired several guns, to very good advantage, which prevented any further attempt. As for those at Pascomuck, they were immediately pursued; three made an escape, eight were rescued, nineteen slain, and three carried to Canada. Next day, Major Whiting pursued them with a number of horses, and came upon their track, but the ways were so impassable, that they sent their horses back with a resolve to follow them on foot, but some proving lame, and others tiring, caused the rest to desist. I would here remark, that a little before the troubles at Pascomuck, and the farm-house before mentioned, the people at Springfield heard a great shooting; unto some it seemed to be at Westfield, to others at a village, and to some again in the woods; so that many hastened to their assistance; but when they came all was still and quiet, the reason whereof is hard to assign, and yet we have repeated instances in history of the like nature.

Under all those sufferings from a cruel enemy, little or no impression could ever be made by us upon them, by reason of their retiring into unaccessable swamps, and mountains. Wherefore it

was determined, that Major Church, who was so eminently serviceable in the former war, should visit their head quarters, according to a scheme which he had projected.

No sooner was his commission granted, but he raised a considerable number of volunteers out of Plymouth colony both of English and friend Indians, and marched to Nantaskett for further instructions; where the following gentlemen were appointed officers under him, viz. Colonel Gorham, Major Hilton, Captain John Brown, Constant, and Edward Church, Cole, Dyer, Lamb, Cook, Harreden, Williamson, and Myrick,* with five hundred and fifty men and fourteen transports, and with thirty six whaleboats, which were guarded by Capt. Smith, Rogers, and Southack, in three ships of war. After they were equipped, they sailed to Pascataqua, to make up their complement from thence. May 15th, they sailed eastward, visiting all parts as they went along, till they came to the Green Islands, where they took Monsieur Lafebure, and his two sons, with a Canada Indian, whom they examined apart: The father at first seemed surly and crooked, and the young men were much of the like temper, but being told what they must trust unto in case they did not confess, were afterwards submissive, and promised to pilot them wherever they were directed. Upon this, the transports and whaleboats were ordered to be in readiness, and every man to have a week's provision; from hence, they paddled to Penobscot, and with the assistance of D. Young, whom they brought out of Boston Gaol on purpose for a pilot, killed and took a considerable number both of French and Indians, among whom was St. Casteen's daughter. From thence they went to Passamaquodda, and Mount

[* The names of the officers under Col. Church, as given in his memoirs of the expedition, were Lt. Col. John Gorham, Major Winthrop Hilton, Captains John Brown, James Cole, John Cook, Isaac Mirick, John Harradon, Constant Church, John Dyer, Joshua Lamb, Caleb Williamson, and Edward Church.]

Desart, where they met the three ships of war according to appointment. Their custom was to rest in the day, and row in the night; and never to fire at an Indian if they could reach him with a hatchet, for fear of alarming them. Here they seized the old Lotriell and his family, after that, Monsieur Guorden, and Sharkee, who a little before came with a commission from Canada to form an expedition against the English. No sooner had our forces arrived here, but orders were sent them from Boston, forthwith to sail to Port-Royal, expecting some store ships from France, which was welcome news for officers and soldiers. But they missed their expectations: However, the ships stood off the harbor while the land forces went to Menis, where a council of war was held, and Lieut. Giles was sent to the town with a flag of truce and summons to surrender; their answer was, "that if our "forces would not hurt their estates, they would "surrender, otherwise, were resolved to stand their "ground." Upon which, a descent was made upon them that night, but little effected until the morning, and then the forces drew up and drove all before them.

There was at this time a considerable plenty of brandy and claret in their houses, which rather proved a snare than service to our men; especially the Indians, who naturally affect strong drink, but this was soon prevented, by breaking in the heads of the casks. Lieut. Baker and one more were killed in this attack, and not above six died in the whole expedition. Most of their houses were burnt, and much plunder taken, but with as little effusion of blood as possibly could be. The General ordered their dams to be dug down, and their fortifications to be laid in ashes. Having as great success as reasonably could be expected, throughout all the territories of L'Acadia, and Nova Scotia, where he took a hundred prisoners, burnt and

laid waste all the French settlements, (except the town of Port Royal) a great many cattle were also killed, and the Indians driven into such confusion, that they left their wigwams and retired into private cells.

On July 4th, a council of war was called to concert what next to do, who resolved, that as the Fort was alarmed, the enemy was more numerous than at first ; and that as many of our men were tired and defective, it would be best to return ; which was also consented unto by our sea officers. But notwithstanding the fatigue that this worthy gentleman had undergone, and the dangers he had run ; the spoil he had done ; and the victories he won, yet he could not escape the censures of many. Some indeed extolled his valour and conduct even to an hyperbole, while others endeavoured to lessen it with as much disgrace and infamy.— Some thought he did too much, others too little : But after one and another has passed their sentiments, the General Assembly (which was then sitting) voted him thanks for the good services he did both to the queen and country.

The Governor of Port Royal being in fear of a new enterprize, sent Lewis Allein as a spy, under the colour of a flag of truce, with six prisoners, (whereof Mr. Hoddy of Pascataqua was one) to observe and know the motion of the English. But being suspected,he was apprehended and searched, and in his pocket-book was found this direction ; " That if any enterprise was on foot, he should (in his advice book) join L. A. the two first letters of his name close together ; if it was only in agitation, to place them at some distance ; But if nothing was in motion, then to sign a cross."

While our forces were engaged in visiting the enemy abroad, great care was taken of covering the frontiers at home ; and yet very daring assaults were frequently made by small numbers. At Oys-

ter river, they wounded William Tasket, and at Dover they way-laid the inhabitants as they returned from public worship: After that, they killed a lad near Casco fort. About the same time, some of the enemy were fishing up Connecticut river, and being tracked by a small scout of our volunteers, one Englishman and five Mohegan Indians, they pursued them to such advantage, that they slew the whole company, save one, which were nine in number. Mr. Caleb Lyman, (now Elder of a church in Boston) was leader in this hardy action, and has favoured us with the following account of it.

Mr. Caleb Lyman's account of eight enemy Indians killed by himself and five friend Indians.

"Some time in the month of May, 1704, there came intelligence from Albany, of a number of enemy Indians up Connecticut river, who had built a fort, and planted corn, at a place called Cowassuck. On the fifth of June following, we set out (by order of authority) from Northampton, and went nine days journey into the wilderness, (through much difficulty, by reason of the enemy's hunting and scouting in the woods, as we perceived by their tracks and firing) and then came across some fresh tracks, which we followed till we came in sight of the abovesaid river: Supposing there might be a number of Indians at hand, we being not far from the place where the fort was said to be built. Here we made a halt, to consult what methods to take; and soon concluded to send out a spy, with green leaves for a cap and vest, to prevent his own discovery, and to find out the enemy. But before our spy was gone out of sight, we saw two Indians, at a considerable distance from us, in a canoe, and so immediately called him: And soon after we heard the firing of a gun up the river. Upon

which we concluded to keep close till sun-set; and then if we could make any further discovery of the enemy, to attack them, if possible, in the night.—And accordingly when the evening came on, we moved towards the river, and soon perceived a smoke, at about half a mile's distance, as we thought, where we afterwards found they had taken up their lodging. But so great was the difficulty, that (though we used our utmost care and diligence in it) we were not able to make the approach till about two o'clock in the morning, when we came within twelve rods of the wigwam where they lay. But here we met with a new difficulty, which we feared would have ruined our design.—For the ground was so covered over with dry sticks and brush, for the space of five rods, that we could not pass, without making such a crackling, as we thought would alarm the enemy, and give them time to escape. But while we were contriving to compass our design, God in his good providence so ordered, that a very small cloud arose, which gave a smart clap of thunder, and a sudden shower of rain. And this opportunity we embraced, to run through the thicket; and so came undiscovered within sight of the wigwam; and perceived by their noise, that the enemy were awake. But however, being unwilling to lose any time, we crept on our hands and knees till we were within three or four rods of them. Then we arose, and ran to the side of the wigwam, and fired in upon them: and flinging down our guns, we surrounded them with our clubs and hatchets and knocked down several we met with. But after all our diligence, two of their number made their escape from us: one mortally wounded, and the other not hurt, as we afterwards heard.

When we came to look over the slain, we found seven dead upon the spot: six of whom we scalped, and left the other unscalped. (Our Indians say-

ing, they would give one to the country, since we had each of us one, and so concluded we should be rich enough.) When the action was thus over, we took our scalps and plunder, such as guns, skins, &c. and the enemy's canoes, in which we came down the river about twelve miles by break of day, and then thought it prudence to dismiss and break the canoes, knowing there were some of the enemy betwixt us and home.

And now, all our care being how to make a safe and comfortable return, we first looked over our provision, and found we had not more than enough for one small refreshment: and being above one hundred miles from any English settlement, we were very thoughtful how we should subsist by the way. For having tracked about thirty of the enemy a little before us, we could not hunt for our subsistence for fear of discovery; and so were obliged to eat buds of trees, grass and strawberry leaves, for the space of four or five days, till through the goodness of God, we safely arrived at Northampton, on the 19th or 20th of the aforesaid June. And some time after, (upon our humble petition to the Great and General Court, to consider the service we had done) we received thirty-one pounds reward. And I have only this to observe, that in consequence of this action, the enemy were genenally alarmed, and immediately forsook their fort and corn at Cowassuck, and never returned to this day that we could hear of, to renew their settlement in that place."*

I beg the country's leave to observe, how poorly this bold action and great service was rewarded. No doubt they looked for, and well deserved, eight times as much; and now the province would readily pay eight hundred pounds in the like case: but a gracious God has recompensed to the Elder,

[* May 11, 1704, John Allen and his wife were killed at, or near Deerfield. Sergeant Hasks was wounded about the same time, but escaped to Hatfield.]

I trust, both in the blessings of his providence and grace.

The French in Canada were now forming another design on North Hampton, of which we had seasonable advice; yet two men were killed going to Deerfield. After that, came in a French deserter, who informed of the state of the army that was then coming. Upon this, expresses and scouts were every way sent to observe their motion: Major Whiting with a considerable number went to the Ponds, where he expected to give them battle, but they were gone from thence, leaving their canoes behind, which he burnt. Their whole body were seven hundred, with two Friars, under the command of Monsieur Boocore, who in their march began to mutiny about the plunder which they had in view, and expected to be master of; forgetting the proverb about dividing the skin before the bear was killed. Their dissention at last was so great, that upwards of two hundred returned in discontent. However the rest came on, and sent scouts before to observe the posture of the English, who reported, that they were as thick as the trees in the woods. Upon which their spirits failed, and more of their number deserted. They then called a council of war, who resolved to desist from the enterprise. Yet some staid, and afterwards fell on Lancaster and Groton, where they did some spoil, but not what they expected, for that these towns were seasonably strengthened.*

Capt. Tyng and Capt. How entertained a warm dispute with them for some time, but being much inferior in number, were forced to retreat with some loss; yet those that were slain of the enemy, were more than those of ours. One of them was

---

[*July 19, 1702, Thomas Russell of Deerfield was killed.]

[The Indians commenced their attack on Lancaster on the 31st July, early in the morning. In their first onset, they killed Lieut. Nathaniel Wilder, near the gate of his own garrison; and on the same day, three others, viz. Abraham How, John Spaulding and Benjamin Hutchins, near the same Garrison.

Rev. Mr. Harrington's Century Sermon.]

an officer of some distinction, which so exasperated their spirits, that in revenge, they fired the Meeting-House, killed several cattle, and burnt many out-houses. About the same time, Capt. Allen, from Westfield, discovered a small party with whom he had a skirmish, and lost one man, but killed three, and rescued a captive. After this, between Hadley and Quabaug,* we had one wounded and another slain. By this time came Major Tailor with his troop, (who always distinguished himself of an active spirit to serve his country,) Capt. Prescott, Bulkley, and Willard, with their companies, who were so vigorous and intense in pursuing the enemy, that they put them all to flight. And yet a little while after they fell on Groton and Nashua, where they killed Lieut. Wyler and several more. It was not then known how many of the enemy were slain, it being customary among them to carry off their dead: however, it was afterwards affirmed, that they lost sixteen, besides several that were wounded.† After this they divided into smaller parties and did much mischief, as at Amesbury, Haverhill, and Exeter. August 11th, they wounded Mark Giles of Dover, (with his son) who, through anguish of pain, and much effusion of blood, expired a few days after. At the same time, another party fell on York, where they slew Matthew Austin near the garrison, and then went to Oyster River, where they killed several while at work in their field.

[*Now Brookfield.]

[†On the 8th of August 1704, as several persons were busy in spreading flax, on on a plain, about eighty rods from the house of Mr. Thomas Rice, and a number of boys with them, a number of Indians, seven or ten, suddenly rushed down a woody hill near by, and knocked on the head Nahor Rice, the youngest boy, and seized Asher and Adonijah, sons of Mr. Thomas Rice, and two others, Silas and Timothy, sons of Mr. Edmund Rice, and carried them away to Canada. The persons engaged in spreading flax, escaped safely to the house. Asher, in about four years, returned, being redeemed by his father. His brother, Adonijah, grew up in Canada, and married there. Silas and Timothy mixed with the Indians; lost their mother tongue, had Indian wives, and children by them; and lived at Cagnawaga. The last became the third of the six chiefs of the Cagnawagas, and was known among them by the name of Oughtsorongoughton. See *Whitney's History of Worcester*, p. 121–123.]

The five Nations of Indians which are called by the name of the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senekas, and Macquas,* all this while stood neuter, but being like to be influenced by the French missionaries, who came among them, Colonel Townsend and Mr. Leverett, from the Massachusetts, Capt. Gold and Capt. Levinston from Connecticut, were commissionated to give them a visit, and strengthen the alliance with them, which they did to so good effect, that they promised to take up the hatchet, whenever the Governor of New-York should desire it. But why so fair an opportunity was lost, when the interest of New-England lay bleeding, was matter of surprise and admiration to some, of censures and reflections to others. The only account we can give of it is the vast trade between the Dutch and Indians; for the sake of which, that government have always chosen to restrain their Indians from joining with us in our wars. In the midst of war there seems a secret league between them and the Governor of Canada, not to suffer the least breach to be made on one another by any of their Indians.

But although my design was only to remark the barbarous insults of those bloody Pagans on the territories of New-England; yet I think it not improper to take a short view of their descent on Newfoundland, considering the nearness of its situation, and that several of our Eastward Indians were confederate with them.

On the 18th of August, one hundred and forty French and Indians, in two sloops, early in the morning, from Placentia, arrived at Bonavista and surprised the Pembroke Galley, the society of Pool, and a lesser vessel, in which was thirty ton of oil: Capt. Gill of Charlestown was there at the same time, in a ship of fourteen guns, with twenty-four men. He was furiously attacked, but defended

[* Oneydes, Onondages, Cayonges, Senneches, and Macquaus, in the copy.]

himself with great courage and good conduct, from divers bold and desperate attempts which they made upon him. When he had beat them at small arms, they then brought the Galley to bear upon him with her great guns, which he returned in the like language. They then set fire to the Society, with an expectation of burning him alive; but the wind proving contrary, drove her ashore on a rock, where she soon consumed. They then set the lesser ship on fire, which burnt to such a degree by reason of the oil, that it would soon have devoured him, had not the buoy-rope of the anchor got between the rudder and the stern, and kept off the blazing war from him. The situation of the fort was such, as that it was not able to protect the town of St. Johns, upon which it was wholly laid in ashes, the inhabitants being mostly fled into the woods. The loss that Capt. Gill sustained in the whole encounter, was but one man slain and two wounded.

I now return to the westward, where, on the 25th of October the enemy did some mischief. Lancaster was alarmed, and the alarm was the means of the untimely death of the Rev. Mr. Gardiner,* their worthy pastor. Several of the inhabitants who belonged to the garrison, were wearied by hard travelling the day before, in pursuit of the enemy. This caused this good man out of pity and compassion, to watch that night himself; accordingly he went into the box which lay over the flanker, where he staid till late in the night: but being cold, (as was supposed) he was coming down to warm himself, when one between sleeping and waking, or surprised through excess of fear, fired upon him, as he was coming out of the watch-house, where no man could rationally expect the coming of an enemy.

Mr. Gardiner, although he was shot through the back, came to the door and bid them open it, for he

[* Mr. Andrew Gardiner, who graduated at Harvard College in 1696, and was invited to settle in the ministry, at Lancaster, in May, 1701, but probably had not been ordained.]

was wounded. No sooner did he enter, but he fainted away: As he came to himself, he asked who it was that shot him, and when they told him, he prayed God to forgive him, and forgave him himself, believing that he did it not on purpose; and with a composed frame of spirit, desired them that bewailed him not to weep, but pray for him and his flock. He comforted his sorrowful spouse, and expired within an hour.

The Indian harvest being now gathered, and the winter approaching, the enemy, like beasts of prey, retired to their private cells: but concluding it necessary to discover their head quarters, it was resolved that Col. Hilton, with two hundred and seventy men, should go to Narridgwalk with twenty days' provision: at which time the country appeared like a frozen lake, the snow four feet deep; yet neither officers nor soldiers were in the least discouraged; but when they came unto the fort, could not discover the least step of an Indian, only a few deserted wigwams, and a large chapel, with a vestry at the end of it which they set on fire.

The winter season requiring snow shoes, an express was sent Col. Patrick to supply the frontiers therewith, which he no sooner forwarded, but the express was intercepted by a Montreal scout, who robbed him of fifty pounds that he had in his pocket, which at their return they presented to the Governor, who converted it into a bowl, and called it by the name of the New-England gift.

Early in the spring, Capt. Larraby was ordered to cruise on the shore of L'Accadia, and defeat the French from their fishery, having Whale-boats to attend him: Capt. Fowle was also dispatched in a sloop of war, who on the northward of Cape Sables took a small vessel formerly belonging to the English, which had cattle and sheep on board her. Soon after he took five prisoners at Port Rosua,* and three at L'Have, burnt a few houses, and killed

[* Probably Port-Roseway.]

some cattle; but the inhabitants were so miserably poor, and their circumstances so desperate, that they rather chose to be prisoners among the English, than at liberty among the French.

May the 4th, 1705, Capt. Hill, who was formerly taken at Wells and carried to Canada, was from thence sent by Monsieur Vaudriell, to concert the exchange of prisoners, who advised of one hundred and seventeen that were then with him, and about seventy more with the Indians; which unexpected news was very reviving to the dejected spirits of their mournful friends, considering the many deaths they escaped in their captivity.

Upon the advice hereof, Capt. Levinston was sent to Canada, to capitulate about the matter, and after him Capt. Appleton, and Mr. Sheldon (with seventy prisoners of theirs) who went by water, having ordered a scout before of ten men by land to advise of their coming, that so our prisoners might be in readiness. But the Jesuits and Friars had by this time so influenced the Governor, as to cause him to break his word of honor, pretending, that as the Indians were independent and a free born people, that he had no power to demand any captives of them; when at the same time they were so much in subjection and vassalage unto him, that they never formed an enterprise without him, neither did they dare to attempt it without his knowledge.

Now, although the expense and industry of our commissioners in this affair was very great, yet notwithstanding they could not obtain above sixty captives out of one hundred and eighty-seven; which was scandalously base and dishonorable in that government.

The descent that the enemy again made on Newfoundland, was more terrible and surprising than the former; for on January 21st, at break of day, Monsieur Supercass, Governor of Placentia, came with five hundred and fifty French from Canada, Port-Royal, and other places adjacent, and a com-

pany of Salvages, of whom Assacombuit was chief; who ransacked and laid waste all the southern settlements in a few days, and then fell on St. Johns, where in the space of two hours all were become prisoners of war, excepting those in the castle and fort. The night before the enterprise, they were obliged to lie on a bed of snow, six foot deep, for fear of being discovered, which caused such cold and numbness in the joints of several, that the General vowed revenge, and accordingly executed his resentment, for that he destroyed all before him, and gave no quarter for some time, till Monsieur Boocore, who was a gentleman of more humanity, did interpose and abate his fury. The number that they took alive was one hundred and forty, whom they sent unto the garrison, not out of pity to the prisoners, but with a design to starve the whole. After that, they laid close seige to the garrison and fort, which continued thirty days without relief; (excepting three who made their escape to the former, and seventeen to the latter.) In the fort were only forty men under the command of Capt. Moody, and twelve in the castle under Capt. Lotham, who behaved themselves with such bravery, that they slighted all manner of tenders that were made them of surrendering, with the highest contempt imaginable.

Upon this, the enemy committed many barbarities, and sent several threatenings; but they had no influence either on officers or soldiers, for they plied their bombs and mortar-pieces to so good effect, that they killed several, and lost but three in the whole engagement.

After this, they steered to Consumption Bay, having first demolished all the English settlements in Trinity and Bonavista, where they burnt their stages and boats, and laid a contribution besides upon the inhabitants. From thence they went to Carboneer, where they met with some repulse, and finding their provision fall short, they sent a further

number unto the fort, reserving the most skilful and able fishermen for themselves until the succeeding spring.

During this time, our frontiers at home were greatly infested. At Spruce Creek, in Kittery, they killed five and took as many more; among the slain was Mrs. Hoel, a gentlewoman of good extract and education; but the greatest sufferer was Enoch Hutchins, in the loss of his wife and children. Three weeks after, John Rogers was dangerously wounded, and at a little distance, James Toby was shot by another party. From thence they went westward, and took a Shallop which belonged to Pascataqua. Our sea coast at the same time was disrested by privateers, particularly by Capt. Crepoa, who notwithstanding our cruisers that were then out, took seven vessels, besides a sloop, and carried them all to Port Royal, excepting the latter, which was retaken by Capt. Harris at Richmond's Island.

About the same time Michael Royal, a fisherman belonging to Marblehead, as he went ashore for wood off Cape Sables, was barbarously cut in pieces. On the 15th of October following, eighteen Indians fell on Cape Neddick, where they took four children of Mr. Stover's at a little distance from the garrison. The youngest not able to travel, was knocked on the head, the other three were carried captive; but being attacked by Lieut. March, and losing one of their company, they killed a second child in way of revenge.

During the winter, little or no spoil was done on any of our frontiers; the enemy being so terrified by reason of snow-shoes (which most of our men were skillful in) that they never attempted coming at such a season after.

But as the spring came on, April 27th, 1706, a small body fell on an out-house in Oyster River, where they killed eight, and wounded two. The garrison which stood near, had not a man it at that

time; but the women, who assumed an Amazonian courage, seeing nothing but death before them, advanced the watch-box, and made an alarm. They put on hats, with their hair hanging down, and fired so briskly that they struck aterror in the enemy, and they withdrew without firing the house, or carrying away much plunder. The principal sufferer at this time, was John Wheeler, who thinking them to be friend Indians, unhappily fell under their fury. Two days after, Mr. Shapleigh and his son, as they were travelling through Kittery, were ambushed by another party, who killing the father, took the son and carried him to Canada. In their march, they were so inhumanely cruel, that they bit off the tops of his fingers, and to stagnate the blood, seared them with hot tobacco pipes.

June the 1st, Mr. Walker, being loaded with provisions from Connecticut. was chased by a French privateer, which to avoid, he ran ashore in his boat; and as he hastened to Rhode-Island, made an alarm all round. The Government there was so expeditious, that in a few hours (by beat of drum) one hundred men well equipped, voluntarily entered on board of two sloops, under the command of Major Wanton and Captain Paine, who next day became masters of the prize, wherein were thirty-seven men under the command of Capt. Ferrel, bound for Port Royal, but in his way was obliged to cruise on the New-England coast.

The year after they did another brave exploit, in taking a sloop from Placentia, with four guns, four Patteraroes, and forty-nine men, which undoubtedly prevented great mischief that otherwise would have befallen us.

Upon the advice of many English captives that were now at Port Royal, Capt. Rouse of Charlestown was sent with a flag of truce; who after an unusual stay, returned but with seventeen, saying that the French detained them. He fell under a severe suspicion of carrying on a secret trade

with the enemy, which grew upon his second going, when he brought but seven back with him.

The General Assembly which was then sitting, with the country throughout, were thrown hereby into a great ferment, considering the vast charge and effusion of blood. He was indicted for traitorous correspondence with the enemy. Others at the same time, like snakes in the grass, or moles under ground, were as industrious to evade it, and to put a different gloss on all his actions.

—— *Quid non Mortalia pectora Cogis*
Auri Sacra fames? ——

And yet it has been generally remarked from the beginning of time here, that those who have been Indian traders, and seemingly got much, have sensibly decayed, and many of them become victims to their bloody cruelty. A proclamation was issued forth to apprehend all such as were suspected: several hereupon were seized, and others vehemently suspected, who did what they could to extenuate the crime, and to get the indictment altered from that of Treason, unto High Misdemeanor. At last a court of Oyer and Terminer was called, and fines were imposed, besides the prison fees.

How far these unhappy Measures tended to increase our troubles, is obvious to an impartial eye, if we consider how they supplied the enemy with powder, shot, iron, nails, and other materials of war.

The advice of Colonel Schuyler from time to time was of eminent service unto the country, who advised of two hundred and seventy men that were coming upon us. Their first descent was on Dunstable, the third of July, where they fell on a garrison that had twenty troopers posted in it, who by their negligence and folly, keeping no watch, suffered them to enter, which tended to the destruction of one half of their number. After that, a small party attacked Daniel Galusha's* house, who held

[* Galeucia's in the copy.]

them play for some time, till the old man's courage failed; when, on surrendering himself, he informed them of the state of the garrison, how that one man was killed and only two men and a boy left, which caused them to rally anew, and with greater courage than before. Upon which one with the boy got out on the back side, leaving only Jacob to fight the battle, who for some time defended himself with much bravery; but overpowered with force, and finding none to assist him, was obliged to quit it and make his escape as well as he could; but before he got far, the enemy laid hold of him once and again, and yet by much struggling he rescued himself. Upon this they burnt the house;* and next day, about forty more fell on Amesbury, where they killed eight; two, at the same time, who were at work in a field, hearing an outcry hastened to their relief; but being pursued, ran to a deserted house in which were two flankers, where each of them found an old gun, but neither of them fit for service; and if they were, had neither powder nor shot to load with: however, each took a flanker, and made the best appearance they could, by thrusting the muzzles of their guns outside the port-holes, crying aloud, "here they are, but do not fire till they come nearer;" which put the enemy into such a fright that they instantly drew off.

From thence they went to Kingston, where they killed and wounded several cattle. About the same time, Joseph English,† who was a friend Indian,

[* Wells' garrison, which was in the southerly part of Dunstable, N. H. about half a mile from the state line, near James Baldwin's house, on a place known by the name of the Blanchard farm, east of the great road to Boston. Galusha's, was about two miles south-west of this, on Salmon brook, at a place formerly called Glasgow, on which Henry Turrell now lives.]

[† Jo English, as he was called, was much distinguished for his attachment to the white inhabitants. In a preceding war with the Indians, he had been taken a prisoner from the vicinity of Dunstable and carried to Canada, from whence by his shrewdness and sagacity, he effected his escape, with one English captive and returned to his friends in Dunstable. The Indians had for a long time endeavored to retake him, and he was peculiarly obnoxious to them; and at the time above mentioned, while he was accompanying Capt. Butterfield and his wife on a visit to their friends, they pursued him, and just as he was upon the point of gaining a thicket, they shot him through the thigh, which brought him to the ground, and they afterwards dispatched him with their tomahawks.]

going from Dunstable to Chelmsford, with a man and his wife on horse-back, was shot dead, the woman taken, but the man made his escape. On the 8th of July, five Indians, a little before night, fell on an out-house in Reading, where they surprized a woman with eight children; the former with the three youngest were instantly dispatched, and the other they carried captive; but one of the children unable to travel, they knocked on the head, and left in the swamp concluding it was dead, but a while after it was found alive. The neighbourhood being alarmed, got ready by the morning and coming on their track, pursued them so near that they recovered three of the children, and put the enemy in such a terror that they not only quitted their plunder and blankets, but the other captive also. Several strokes were afterwards made on Chelmsford, Sudbury and Groton, where three soldiers as they were going to public worship, were way-laid by a small party, who killed two and made the other a prisoner.

At Exeter, a company of French Mohawks, who some time kept lurking about Capt. Hilton's garrison, took a view of all that went in and out; and observing some to go with their scythes to mow, laid in ambush till they laid by their arms, and while at work, rushed on at once, and by intercepting them from their arms, killed four, wounded one, and carried three captive; so that out of ten, two only escaped. A while after, two of those that were taken, viz. Mr. Edward Hall, and Samuel Myals, made their escape; but the fatigue and difficulty that they went through, (besides the terror and fear they were under of being taken) was almost incredible; for in three weeks together, they had nothing to subsist on except a few lilly roots, and the rhines of trees.

Several of our captives still remaining among the French and Indians, occasioned Mr. Sheldon's going a second time to Canada with a flag of truce,

who at his return brought forty-five, and had a prospect of many more, but was prevented by the Jesuits.

As to the treatment of our captives with the French, it was as different and as various as their tempers and constitutions. Some were mild and pleasant, while others were morose and sordid; but the Indians might as well alter their complexions as their constitutions; for scarce a day passed without some act of cruelty, insomuch that all were under a constant martyrdom between fear of life and terror of death.

It would be an endless task to enumerate the various sufferings that many groaned under, by long marching with heavy burdens through heat and cold; and when ready to faint for want of food, they were frequently knocked on the head: teeming women, in cold blood, have been ript open; others fastened to stakes, and burnt alive; and yet the finger of God did eminently appear in several instances, of which I shall mention a few. As

First. Of Rebekah Taylor, who after her return from captivity, gave me the following account, viz.

That when she was going to Canada, on the back of Montreal river, she was violently insulted by Sampson, her bloody master, who without any provocation was resolved to hang her; and for want of a rope, made use of his girdle, which when he had fastened about her neck, attempted to hoist her up on the limb of a tree (that hung in the nature of a gibbet,) but in hoisting her, the weight of her body broke it asunder, which so exasperated the cruel tyrant that he made a second attempt, resolving that if he failed in that to knock her on the head; but before he had power to effect it, Bomaseen came along, who seeing the tragedy on foot, prevented the fatal stroke.

A second was a child of Mrs. Hannah Parsons, of Wells, whom the Indians, for want of food, had determined to roast alive, but while the fire was

kindling, and the sacrifice preparing, a company of French Mohawks came down the river in a canoe with three dogs, which somewhat revived these hungry monsters, expecting to make a feast upon one of them. So soon as they got ashore, the child was offered in exchange; but despising the offer, they tendered a gun, which they readily accepted, and by that means the child was preserved.

A third was a Samuel Butterfield, who being sent to Groton as a soldier, was with others attacked as they were gathering in the harvest; his bravery was such, that he killed one and wounded another, but being overpowered by strength, was forced to submit; and it happened that the slain Indian was a sagamore, and of great dexterity in war, which caused matter of lamentation, and enraged them to such a degree that they vowed the utmost revenge; some were for whipping him to death, others for burning him alive; but differing in their sentiments, they submitted the issue to the Squaw Widow, concluding she would determine something very dreadful, but when the matter was opened, and the fact considered, her spirits were so moderate as to make no other reply than, *Fortune L'guerre.* Upon which some were uneasy, to whom she answered, "if by killing him, you can bring my husband to life again, I beg you to study what death you please; but if not, let him be my servant;" which he accordingly was, during his captivity, and had favor shewn him.

The state of affairs still looking with a melancholy aspect, it was resolved for a more vigorous prosecution of the war, to grant the following encouragement, viz.:—

To regular forces under pay	£10	00	*per Scalp.*
To volunteers in service	20	00	
To volunteers without pay	50	00	
To any troop or company that go for the relief of any town or garrison	30	00	

Over and above was granted the benefit of plunder, and captives of women and children under twelve years of age, which at first seemed a great encouragement, but it did not answer what we expected. The charge of the war was by this time so great, that every Indian we had killed or taken, cost the country at least a thousand pounds.

But while they continued in great bodies, they did not commit the like spoil and rapine (in proportion) as they did in smaller. August the 10th, they slew William Pearl of Dover, and a little after, took Nathaniel Tibbits. But of all the Indians that was ever known since King Philip, never any appeared so cruel and inhumane as Assacambuit, that insulting monster, who by the encouragement of the French, went over to Paru, and being introduced to the king, lifted up his hand in the most arrogant manner imaginable, saying, "this hand of mine has slain one hundred and fifty of your Majesty's enemies, within the territories of New-England," &c. Which bold and impudent speech was so pleasing to that bloody monarch, that he forthwith knighted him, and ordered eight livres a day to be paid him during life; which so exalted the wretch (having his hands so long imbrued in innocent blood,) as at his return, to exert a sovereignty over the rest of his brethren, by murdering one, and stabbing another, which so exasperated those of their relations, that they sought revenge, and would instantly have executed it, but that he fled his country, and never returned after.

January 21st, Colonel Hilton with two hundred and twenty men visited the frontiers anew, but the mildness of the winter prevented his going so far as he expected: however, in his return, near Black Point, he came on an Indian track which he pursued, and killed four. At the same time he took a Squaw alive with a Papoose at her breast, which he preserved, and she was of singular service in con-

ducting him to a body of eighteen, who lodged on a neck of land; about break of day he surprized them as they lay asleep, and slew all but one whom they kept a prisoner: but it is strange to think by what winged mercury reports are often carried. Plutarch, I remember, and other writers, have given surprising instances of things transacted at such a distance, as have been inconsistent with any human conveyance. Witness that of Domitian, two thousand five hundred miles in the space of twenty-four hours; and of William the conqueror, the news of whose death was conveyed from Roan to Rome the day he died, which, as historians mention, was —— *prius pene quam nunciari possit.* And to my certain knowledge, on the very morning that Col. Hilton did this exploit, it was publickly talked of at Portsmouth in every article, and with little or no variation, although ninety miles distance.

But all this while we were only cutting off the branches; the French in Canada, and Nova Scotia, who supply the Indians with all necessaries for the war, were the root of all our woe.

Wherefore, it was resolved to make an enterprize on Nova Scotia, under the command of Colonel March, with two regiments, viz.

Col. Wainwright, Lt. Col. Appleton, Major Walton, Commanders.	of the red.	Col. Hilton, Lt. Col. Wanton, Major Spencer, Commanders.	of the blue.

In three transport ships, five brigantines, and fifteen sloops, with whaleboats answerable, having her Majesty's ship the Deptford, and the Province Galley to cover them.

March 13th, 1707, they sailed from Nantasket, and in a fortnight after, arrived at Fort Royal gut, where they landed on both sides of the river, which the enemy observing, made an alarm and retired to the fort with what substance they could get.

Monsieur Supercass, who was the governor, upon rallying his forces together, held a short skirmish, but finding too warm a reception, (his horse being shot under him) was obliged to retreat. A council of war being called, it was resolved that the artillery should be landed, and their lines forced: but through the unfaithfulness of some, and cowardly pretensions of others, little was done in annoying the enemy, save killing their cattle, burning their mills and out-houses: whereas if the officers on board her Majesty's ship had been true and faithful, matters had succeeded to good advantage. But instead of pressing on, they did rather clog and hinder the affair: For, by crafty insinuations, they afterwards obtained a second council, which the general not so well weighing as he ought, proved the overthrow of the whole design. They voted to return; whereas if they had only kept their ground, and not fired a gun, the enemy must of necessity have surrendered or have starved. This was so surprising, that the whole country was under an amazing ferment, and the commander so grossly reflected on, that his spirits sunk, and he became of little service ever after: yet to give him his character, he was a man of good courage, and a true lover of his country. But the business that he undertook, was too weighty for his shoulders to bear. So soon as his excellency was apprized hereof, (who had the honor and interest of his country much at heart) he sent strict orders to stay them; and another ship of war, with two companies of fresh men to reinforce them; Col. Hutchinson, Col. Townsend, and Mr. Leverett were appointed commissioners, to give greater vigor; but the number of deserters, and disaffected officers overthrew the whole affair. However a second attempt was made, which the enemy perceiving, called in their auxiliaries both of French and Indians from Menis, Chignecto,* and all other pla-

[* Sachenecto, in copy.]

ces adjacent. A privateer and some other vessels had also arrived since the withdraw of our forces. By their assistance, the enemy had not only strengthened the fort, but secured their lines; so that nothing could be attempted but by a few encounters, in which Major Walton behaved himself with much bravery, being the only field officer then on shore; who engaged them some time, and at last put them to flight, killing and wounding several, among whom was the Field-Major. Those that fell on our side were sixteen, and as many more wounded. Our frontiers at home were as much disrested as ever: May 22d, they took two at Oyster River, and on June 12th, killed one at Groton; after that they slew William Carpenter of Kittery, with his whole family. July 8th, they way laid a cart with two men, as they were going from Dover to Oyster River, whom they shot dead. Captain Sumersby, who was there with his troop, regained the most of the plunder that they took. About the same time, Stephen Gilman and Jacob his brother, as they were riding from Exeter to Kingston, were ambushed by another party. The first had his horse shot under him, and was in danger of being scalped before he could get clear. The other brother had several shot through his clothes and one that grazed his belly; his horse also was wounded, yet he defended himself on foot and got into the garrison.

At Casco, the Indians intercepted a fishing boat as she was sailing between the islands, in which were five men, three of whom they killed, and took the other two. August the 10th, they way-laid the road between York and Wells, and as four horsemen were riding in company with Mrs. Littlefield, who had the value of sixty pounds with her, were all slain except one, who made his escape. Another company falling on Marlborough, encompassed two as they were at work in the field; one of which

got clear, and the neighborhood meeting together, engaged them so smartly, that the enemy gave way, leaving 24 packs behind ; which so exasperated their spirits with the loss they sustained, that they slew the captive which they had taken. On our side two were slain, and two wounded.*

At Exeter, one was killed near the meeting-house; and two days after, another† at Kingston, but the most afflicting stroke that befel us this season was at Oyster River, where thirty French Mohawks, who appeared like so many furies with their naked bodies painted like blood, and observing some at work in hewing of timber, and others driving the team, they fell violently upon them with such hideous noise and yelling as made the very woods to echo. At the first shot, they killed seven, and mortally wounded another, upon which Capt. Chesley, (who had signally behaved himself in many encounters) with the few that were left, fired on them with great vigor and resolution, and for some time gave a check to their triumphing; but the enemy being too powerful, soon overcame him, to the great lamentation of all that knew him.

It being now the height of Indian harvest, they dispersed themselves into all parts, and did considerable mischief; but having something more than ordinary in view, they beset Winter Harbor, and on September 21st, with one hundred and fifty men, in fifty canoes, attempted the taking two shallops as they lay at anchor, in which were Capt. Aus-

[* On the 18th of August, 1707, as two women in Northborough, Ms were out a short distance from the fort gathering herbs, the Indians discovered and pursued them. One Mrs. Mary Fay got safe into the fort ; the other, Mary Goodenow, a young and unmarried woman, was taken and carried over the brook into the edge of Marlborough, and there, a little south of the great road, and nigh to Sandy Hill, she was killed and scalped. The enemy were pursued and overtaken in what is now Sterling, where an obstinate engagement took place, in which John Farrar and Richard Singletary, were killed. The Indians at length fled, leaving some plunder and some of their packs, in one of which the scalp of Mary Goodenow was found. *See Whitney's Hist. of Worcester, p.* 274.]

[† Henry Elkins, Sept. 15, 1707.]

tin, Mr. Harmon, Sergeant Cole, and five men more with a boy, who perceiving their intention, suffered them to paddle till they had got near, and then fired, which put them into great confusion. But they soon recovered themselves, and fired on our men with such resolution, as made them to quit one of their boats by cutting their roads and lashings; and no sooner had they taken possession thereof, but they got their mainsail atrip before that our men could get up theirs half mast high, and then put out their oars, which they joined with paddles on each side; but having no fargood, and their boat a dull sailor, ours gained on them so much, that they got twelve or thirteen canoes ahead, with fishing lines to tow them. But a breeze springing up, and the enemy making too near the wind, (for want of a fargood) came to stays several times, in so much that they fell a quarter of a mile astern. But the rest of the canoes kept on firing, and our men on them for a considerable time together. The only man we lost was Benjamin Daniel, who was shot through the bowels, soon after they came to sail; at his fall he said, "*I am a dead man!*" yet recovering himself a little, added "*Let me kill one before I die!*" but he had not strength to fire.

The engagement held about three hours, in which the English spent about five pounds of powder, and when the enemy ceased their chase, they had not above one quarter of a pound left. The Indians were so bold and daring, as to attempt to take hold of the blades of their oars, as they were rowing. The number of them that fell was then unknown, because of a continued cloud of smoke; but it was affirmed, that nine were slain, and twice as many wounded. After this, a small scout appeared at Berwick, where they killed two, as they returned from worship; upon which, some of the inhabitants, who were acquainted with their walk, lay in wait, and making the first discovery, fired to good

advantage; which put them into so great a consternation, that they dropped their packs, in which were three scalps, supposed to be some of those which a little before, were taken at Oyster River. The winter season afforded a little respite: but on April 22, 1708, Lieut. Littlefield of Wells, with Joseph Winn, as they were travelling to York, were surrounded by a small body; the latter made his escape, but the other was carried to Quebec, who, being a skilful engineer, especially in water works, did them great service.

About this time, eight hundred French and Indians were forming a desperate design against us, but on a division among themselves, fell short of the mischief they designed us. However, one hundred and fifty, on August 29th, at break of day, fell on Haverhill, and passing by the garrisons got into the very centre of the town, before they were discovered. They attempted to fire the Meeting-House, and after that, did burn several houses near it. Major Turner, Capt. Price, and Capt. Gardner, were happily there at that time, and rallied together what forces they could; but most of their men being posted in remote garrisons, were unable to assist them. However, with such as they could get together, they faced the enemy with much bravery, and in less than an hour, put them all to flight, leaving nine of their dead, and carrying off several that were wounded. But the slain on our side were thrice as many, by reason of the surprize that they at first were in; among whom, was the Rev. Mr. Rolfe,* the worthy minister of that town, with Capt. Wainwright.†

A while after, James Hays, of Amesbury, was taken, and one at Brookfield; they also killed Robert Read and David Hutchins of Kittery.

[* Rev. Benjamin Rolfe graduated at Harvard College, 1684; was ordained in Haverhill, in Jan. 1694.—*Saltonstall's Hist. Haverhill.*]

[† October 26, 1708, E. Field was killed in Deerfield.]

Colonel Hilton again marched toward their head quarters with one hundred and seventy men at Amassaconty, Pigwacket, and other places adjacent; but after a long and tedious march, could make no discovery.

On April 12th, 1709, a scout fell on Deerfield, and took Mehuman Hinsdell, as he was driving a cart, which was the second time of his captivity. And on May 6th, another party within three miles of Exeter, surprized several as they were going to a saw-mill, among whom were Mr. William Moody, Samuel Stevens, and two of Mr. Jeremiah Gilman's sons, whom they carried captive.* A few days after, Capt. Wright of Northampton, with several English, and two Natick Indians, adventuring to the lake, within forty miles of fort La' Motte, killed and wounded two or three of the French Mohawks; and on their return up French river, met with another body of the enemy in canoes, on whom they fired, and overset, killed and wounded several of them. In this company, was William Moody before mentioned, who being now alone with but one Indian in a canoe, was encouraged by the English to kill said Indian, and make his escape. Which he attempted, but overset the canoe in the struggle, and then Moody swam towards the English for relief. Whereupon, Lieut. John Wells, with one or two more, ran down the bank and helped him ashore. In the mean time, a number of the enemy came to the bank, and wounded John Strong, and killed the Lieutenant, who had been a man of very good courage, and well spirited to serve his country, and so the loss of him was much lamented. Hereupon, Moody unhappily resigned himself again into the enemy's hands; who most inhumanly tortured him, by fastening him unto a

---

[* Soon after, Bartholomew Stephenson was killed at Oyster River. In May, this year, Lieut. John Wells and John Burt were lost, in a skirmish with the enemy. They belonged to Deerfield.—*Appendix to Williams' Narrative.*]

stake, and roasting him alive, whose flesh they afterwards devoured. Our men considering they were so far in the Indians' country, and like to be encompassed, were forced to make a running fight. So scattering in the woods, lost John Burt, who was supposed to perish with hunger.

The town of Deerfield, which had suffered so much spoil before by Monsieur Artell, was, on June 23d, obliged to a new encounter by Monsieur Ravell, his son-in-law, who, with one hundred and eighty French and Indians, expected to lay all desolate. But the town being alarmed, they valiantly resisted, with the loss only of one man and another wounded.* After that, the enemy killed two at Brookfield, one at Wells, and took another captive.

Col. Vetch, who was now in England, and well acquainted with the continent of America, was very sensible that the reduction of Canada was of absolute necessity, for subduing the Indians; upon which, he laid a plan of the whole country before some of the chief ministers of state, representing every thing in its true light. Gen. Nicholson added all his interest to the motion made by Col. Vetch, and between them they obtained a promise for sufficient forces both by sea and land, for the conquest of Canada. They arrived early in the spring, with her Majesty's royal commands and instructions to the governors of the several provinces, to furnish their respective quotas. To such as should offer volunteers, they presented a good firelock, cartouch-box, flints, ammunition, a coat, hat and shirt, with an assurance of her Majesty's princely favour unto all such as should distinguish themselves.

Upon this, the several governors contributed their utmost assistance; and considering that New-

---

[* Joseph Clesson and John Armes were taken from Deerfield, June 22, 1709, and the next day Jonathan Williams was killed and Matthew Clesson mortally wounded. Lieut. Thomas Taylor and Isaac Moulton, were also wounded, but recovered.]

York (with the adjacent places) lay nearest the Lake, it was resolved that Col. Nicholson should command the several troops, from thence for the attacking of Montreal, while Col. Vetch was preparing to head the forces by sea.

But it often happens in the course of Divine Providence, that when our expectations are at the highest, things come to nothing. For while our forces were ready, and after a vast expense by long waiting, there was a stop at home from any further proceeding for that time; which occasioned Col. Nicholson to embark again for England, to revive the expedition, if possible. But such was the importance of affairs then on foot, that, notwithstanding his indefatigable care and pains, he could not effect it. However, he obtained a sufficient force for the reduction of Port Royal and Nova Scotia, which was so prejudicial to our fishery and merchandize.

Its situation is from 43 to 51 degrees of north latitude, and is part of the Terra Canadensis,* whose bounds are,the Atlantic Ocean on the north, Breton Island and the bay of St. Lawrence to the east,Canada the west, and New-England to the south; whose first seizure was by Sir Sebastian Cabot,for the crown of Great-Britain, in the reign of king Henry the seventh; but lay dormant till the year 1621. In which time, Sir William Alexander, who was then one of the Secretaries of State for Scotland, and afterwards Earl of Sterling, had a patent for it from king James, where he settled a colony and possessed it some years. After that, Sir David Kirk was proprietor as well as governor, but did not enjoy it long; for to the surprize of all thinking men, it was given up unto the French; but Oliver, who had a foreseeing eye of the danger that would ensue unto the British interest, from its being in the hands of so potent an enemy, re-took it in the year 1654,

[* The former name of Canada.—*See Gordon's Geography.*]

and in no after treaties would be persuaded to surrender it: yet, in 1662, it was again given up, unto the shame and scandal of the English.

Monsieur Maneval was then made governor, who built a small fort at Port Royal, which lies on the edge of a basin one league broad,and two long, about sixteen foot of water on one side, and six or seven on the other, where the inhabitants drove a considerable trade, and increased much in the adjacent parts, till Sir William Phips in the year 1690, took possession of it in the name of king William and Queen Mary, and administered the oaths of allegiance to the inhabitants; but in a little time they revolted. Col. Nicholson arrived at Boston, July 1st, 1710, in her majesty's ship Dragon, attended by the Falmouth and a bombship, with several transports, British officers, a regiment of marines, provisions, and stores of war; bringing with him her majesty's royal command to the several governors of the Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode-Island, to be assisting in the said expedition; who very readily obeyed and supplied their respective quotas of good effective men, with transports, provision, stores of war, pilots, chaplains, chirurgeons, and all necessaries for the service.

Col. Nicholson was appointed general and commander in chief, who embarked, September 18th from Nantasket, having with him her majesty's ship the Dragon, commodore Martyn; the Falmouth, Capt. Riddle; the Lowstaff, Capt. Gordon; the Feversham, Capt. Pastor; the Province Galley, Capt. Southack; the Star Boom, Capt. Rochfort. Besides tenders, transports, hospitals, store-ships, and twenty-five lesser vessels, with open floats for carrying boards and necessaries for the cannon. The land forces consisted of five regiments of foot, whereof Col. Vetch was Adjutant-General, Sir Charles Hobby, Col. Walton, Col. Tailer, Col. Whi-

ting,* and Col. Reading, had commissions sent them from the Queen. The wind proving fair, they all safe arrived in six days, excepting Capt. Taye, who at his entering into the Gut was lost with twenty-five men. Next day, a council of war was held, and several detachments ordered to go ashore, and view the ground for the better landing and pitching their camp. Col. Reading and Col. Rednap, with a company of marines, were appointed on the south side of the river where the fort stood, and supported with one hundred and fifty men more, under the command of Major Mullens; at the same time Col. Vetch, Col. Walton, Major Brown, Capt. Southack and engineer Forbes, landed on the north side with a company of grenadiers, commanded by Capt. Mascareen. After this, orders were given to land the whole army, which was done by four o'clock, in the afternoon. The fort fired on them, but did no damage. In the evening, the bomb-ship came up, and saluted them with seven shells, which number the fort returned, but without execution. On Thursday, the twenty-sixth, at break of day, the General marched with the army on the south side, the marines in the front, Col. Reading at their head, Col. Whiting's regiment in the centre, sir Charles Hobby in the rear, and Major Levingston with a party of Indians flanking the body in their march. Towards evening, the fort fired very smartly, and so did the French and Indians with their small arms, as they lay behind the fences, who killed three of our men. Upon landing the stores, which were brought up in the night, the enemy discharged several times from the fort. Next day, we mounted some of our guns, and made preparations to bring up the flat bottom boats, with the artillery and ammunition. In the evening, our bomb-ship came up again, and threw thirty-six shells into the fort, which

[* Col. Joseph Whiting was from Connecticut. He graduated at Harvard College in 1690.—*MS. of W. Winthrop, Esq.*]

put them into such an amazing terror, as brought to my mind the saying of the poet—

> ——The slaughter-breathing brass grew hot, and spoke
> In flames of lightning, and in clouds of smoke.

After that, Lieut. Col. Ballantine with his company from the fleet, and Col. Goffe from Col. Vetch on the north, with four companies more, came to the General's camp; every regiment was now preparing for further engagements, the cannon being all landed. Lieut. Col. Johnson, with three hundred, was ordered to cut fascines, the boats being constantly employed in going and coming with provisions and all sorts of warlike stores. On Friday, the twenty-ninth, two French officers, a fort major, sergeant and drummer, came out of the fort, with a flag of truce, and a letter from Monsieur Supercast unto the General, respecting some gentlewomen that were terrified at the noise of bombs, praying his protection, and that no incivility or abuse might be done them, which was granted. Next day, the sentinels of our advanced guards, discovered some of the enemy near the woods, whom they pursued, and took Capt. Allein a prisoner. October 1st, the great guns were placed on three batteries; the mortars were also planted, and twenty-four cohorts at a little distance from the outward barrier of the fort. These all played upon the fort with good effect; the French, at the same time, firing their great guns and mortars upon us. The General sent Col. Tailer and Capt. Abbercromby with a summons to Monsieur Supercast, the governor, to deliver up the fort for the Queen of Great Britain, as her undoubted right. The answer which he returned was soft, only desiring a capitulation with some of the principal officers on each side, which was granted; and thereupon a cessation of arms. Next day the articles of capitulation were drawn up and signed by General Nicholson and the Governor. Upon this several compliments passed on each side, which were sent by major Handy the Aid-de Camp. And

on October 5th, the fort was delivered up. Upon which Major Abbercromby, with two hundred men, five captains, and eight subalterns, were ordered to take possession thereof. Capt. Davidson marched first at the head of fifty grenadiers: Major Abbercromby, Capt. Mascareen, Capt. Bartlett, Capt. Adams, and Capt. Lyon, followed in their proper stations; the General, with Col. Vetch on his right hand, and Sir Charles Hobby on the left; with Monsieur Bonaventure and D'Gouten who were hostages; and then the field officers, with a great many others advanced to the Fort, where the French Governor met them half way on the bridge, with Col. Reading, and Capt. Matthews, who were hostages on our side, and complimented him in these words.

"Sir, I am very sorry for the King, my master, in losing so brave a Fort, and the territories adjoining; but count myself happy in falling into the hands of one so noble and generous, and now deliver up the keys of the Fort, and all the magazine into your hands, hoping to give you a visit next spring." Which Keys the General immediately delivered to Col. Vetch, as Governor of the Fort, by virtue of her majesty's instructions: whereupon Monsieur Supercast, with his officers and troops marched out with drums beating, colours flying, and guns shouldered; each paying their respects to the General, as they passed by; and then our army entered the Fort, hoisted the union flag and drank the Queen's health, firing all the guns round the Fort, as likewise did the men of war, and other vessels in the River.

On the success of these her Majesty's arms, a day of thanksgiving was solemnized, and agreeable to the articles of capitulation, three vessels were appointed, to transport the soldiers unto France, being two hundred and fifty eight; who besides the common allowance, had a considerable stock of wine, brandy, sugar, spice, and other things, with a

plentiful supply for the late Governor. After this, a council of war was called, who resolved, that Major Levinston, with St. Casteen, and three Indian guides, should go to the Governor of Canada, about the exchange of captives, and inform him how matters were here. Their first arrival was at Penobscot, at St. Casteen's house, who courteously entertained him. From thence they went to the island of Lett, where they met with fifty canoes, and twice as many Indians, besides women and children; there were two English prisoners, taken a little before at Winterharbor. Two days after, one of the prisoners made his escape from an island where he was hunting with his master, carrying with him both his canoe and gun, and left him behind; which so exasperated the wretch, that when he got from thence, and came where Major Levinston was, he took him by the throat with his hatchet in his hand, ready to give him the fatal stroke, had not St. Casteen interposed; he was however kept prisoner some time, but by the prudent management, and mediation of that gentleman, was released. November the 4th, they took their departure, and next day the Major's canoe overset, drowning one Indian, where he also lost his gun and all he had; after that coming among the ice, their canoe was cut to pieces, which obliged them to travel the rest of the way by land, through horrible deserts and mountains, being often forced to head rivers, and lakes, and sometimes knee deep in snow, scarce passing a day without fording some river or other, which in some places were very rapid and dangerous: and for nineteen days together never saw the sun, the weather being very stormy and full of fogs, and the trees so prodigious thick, that in many places it was with difficulty they got through, being mostly spruce, and cedar, and the way under foot so extreme rocky, that it was almost next to an impossibility. At last their provisions were wholly spent, so that for six days to-

gether, they had not one morsel to eat but what they scraped off the frozen earth, or off the bark of trees. After these unspeakable difficulties, they arrived at Quebec, December the sixteenth, where they were handsomely entertained, and after some time of refreshment, discoursed about the prisoners. The Governor at their return, sent two gentlemen with them to Boston, to treat on the same head. Six days homeward, his man fell sick, whom he left in a hospital at Troy River.* From thence they came to Chamblee, and brought with them three birch canoes, being thirteen in number, which canoes they carried seventy miles by land through the woods and ice, and then passed in them sixty miles by water, crossing the Lake. They did not arrive at Albany till February 23.

Early in the spring, the enemy appeared as insulting as ever. The first that fell under their cruelty, was Benjamin Preble of York; but the most affecting and surprizing stroke was on Col. Hilton of Exeter, who being deeply engaged in the masting affair, and having several trees of value that were felled fourteen miles up the country, went out with seventeen men to peel off the bark for fear of worms: but not being so careful and watchful as they ought to be, on July the twenty-second† they were ambushed by a body of Indians that were making a descent upon us. They took two and killed three, whereof the Colonel was one; which so surprized the rest, (their guns being wet) that they all ran without firing one shot, or making the least reprisal. This caused the enemy to triumph, and the more because they slew a superior officer, whom they soon scalped, and with utmost revenge struck their hatchets into his brains, leaving a lance at his heart. Next day, about a hundred men went in pursuit of them, but could not

[* Trois Rivieres, in Lower Canada.]

[† June 23, 1710, says the monument over his grave. For a particular memoir of his life, the reader is referred to *Farmer & Moore's Collections*, Vol. I, p. 241--251.]

discover any. One of the slain was buried on the spot, the other two brought home, where the Col. was decently interred, the several troops in great solemnity attending his corps. He was a gentleman of good temper, courage and conduct, respected and lamented by all that knew him.*

After this, the enemy appeared very bold and insolent in the town, in open streets, where they carried captive four children as they were at play. They then took John Wedgwood, whom they carried to Canada, and after that, killed John Magoon, of whom one thing is remarkable; that three nights before, he dreamed he should be slain by the Indians, at a certain place near his brother's barn: which place he frequently visited with a melancholy countenance, telling several of the neighborhood, that within a little while he should be killed, and pointed to the very spot, which fell out accordingly.

After this, they bent their fury westward, where at Waterbury they killed three, and one at Simsbury.† About the same time they fell on Brookfield, and then at Marlborough, where they shot the post as he was riding to Hadley. From thence they went to Chelmsford, where they wounded Major Tyng,‡ who soon after expired; he was a true lover of his country, and had very often distinguished himself a gentleman of good valor and conduct.§

[* The same day that Colonel Hilton was killed, a company of Indians who had pretended friendship, who had been peaceably conversant with the inhabitants of Kingston, and seemed to be resting after the blood of the enemy, came into the town and ambushing the road, killed Samuel Winslow and Samuel Huntoon; they also took Philip Huntoon and Jacob Gilman, and carried them to Canada; where, after some time, they purchased their own redemption by building a saw-mill for the governor after the English mode.—1 *Belknap*, 280]

[† These towns are in Connecticut]

[‡ Major Tyng was wounded by the Indians between Concord and Groton. He was carried to Concord and there died.—*Allen's Hist. of Chelmsford.*]

[§ On the 20th July, 1710, six men, Ebenezer Hayward, John White, Stephen and Benjamin Jennings, John Grosvenor and Joseph Kellogg, were making hay in the meadows, when the Indians, who had been watching an opportunity to surprize them, sprang suddenly upon them, despatched five of them, and took the other, John White, prisoner. White spying a small company of our people at a distance,

August the 2d, between forty and fifty French and Indians fell on Winter-Harbor, where they killed a woman and took two men, one whereof was Mr. Pendleton Fletcher, which was the fourth time of his captivity; but he was soon redeemed by the garrison. The week after, they came with a far superior number, killed three, and carried away six, one of the slain they barbarously skinned, and made themselves girdles of his skin. The last that fell this season, was Jacob Garland of Cochecho, in his returning from publick worship.

As the winter approached, Colonel Walton was again preparing to traverse the eastern shore with an hundred and seventy men, being the usual season of visiting their clam banks, where one of the enemy very happily fell into his hands as they were encamping on an island; for by the smoke that the English made, they came near, concluding them to be some of their own tribe, but finding themselves deceived, they attempted to escape, which our men prevented. The principal Indian among them was Arruhawikwabemt, chief Sachem of Naridgwalk, an active bold fellow, and one of an undaunted spirit; for when they asked several questions, he made them no reply, and when they threatened him with death, he laughed at it with contempt; upon which they delivered him up unto our friend Indians, who soon became his executioners; but when the squaw saw the destiny of her husband, she became more flexible, and freely discovered where each of them encamped. Upon this, they went further east, and took three more; after that, a certain Indian (thro' discontent) surrendered himself, and informed of Mauxis and several others that were at Penobscot, which our forces had regard unto; and as they returned, went up Saco river, where they took two,

---

jumped from the Indian who held him, and ran to join his friends; but the Indian fired after him, and wounded him in the thigh, by which he fell; but soon recovering and running again, he was again fired at, and received his death wound. This was the last mischief done by the Indians at Brookfield.— *Whitney's History of Worcester, p.* 72.]

and killed five more. Now although the number that we destroyed of them seems inconsiderable to what they did of ours, yet by cold, hunger, and sickness, at least a third of them was wasted since the war begun. For as their number at first (among the several tribes) were computed four hundred and fifty fighting men from Penobscot, westward, they were now reduced to about three hundred, which made the old men weary of the war, and to covet peace. At Winter harbor, they took Corporal Ayers, but soon released him, without offering him the least injury, and then went unto the fort with a flag of truce, professing their desire of a pacification. Yet in a few days after, some came in an hostile manner at Cochecho, where they slew Thomas Downs, and three more, while at work in the field. After that, they went to York, where they killed one and wounded another, who afterwards got to the garrison and reported, that as they were fishing in the pond, they were way-laid by five Indians, one of which ran furiously at him and knocked him on the head: after this, they scalped him, and cut him deep in the neck. He perfectly retained his senses, but made not the least motion or struggle, and by this means saved his life. April, the 29th, the like number appeared at Wells, where they killed two men as they were planting corn. After that, they slew John Church of Cochecho; and then way-laid the people as they returned from publick worship; where they wounded one,* and laid violent hands on another;† but upon firing their guns, some who were before, returned and rescued the prisoner. Upon this, Colonel Walton went with two companies of men to Ossipee and Winnepiseogee‡ ponds, being places of general resort for fishing, fowling, and hunting; but saw none, only a few deserted wigwams; for being so closely pursued from one place to another, they re-

[* John Horn. † Humphrey Foss. ‡ Winnepisseocay in copy.]

moved to other nations, leaving only a few cut-throats behind, which kept the country in a constant alarm.

Col. Nicholson, by the reduction of Port Royal, (which from that time bears the name of Annapolis Royal) was but the more inflamed with the desire of the conquest of Canada. Wherefore upon his return to England, he so effectually represented to the queen and ministry, the great advantage that would accrue unto the crown thereby, that he obtained orders for a sufficient force, both by sea and land, with the assistance of the several colonies. And for the better expediting the same, he set sail the latter end of April, some time before the fleet, with express orders unto the several governors of New-England, New-York, the Jerseys, and Philadelphia, to get their quotas of men in readiness. He arrived at Boston, on June the eighth, 1711, to the great joy and satisfaction of the country. A Congress hereupon was appointed at New-London, being nearest the centre, where the several governors met, with a firm resolution of carrying on the important affairs. On the 25th, the castle gave a signal of ships in the bay, which proved to be the fleet: upon which the troops of guards, and regiment of foot were under arms to receive them, and as his Excellency was not yet returned, the gentlemen of the Council, and others of distinction, went to congratulate them.

Brigadier Hill was Commander in Chief of these her Majesty's troops, and Sir Hovenden Walker, Admiral of the fleet, which consisted of fifteen men of war, forty transports, a battalion of marines, and several regiments under Colonel Kirk, Colonel Segmore, Brigadier Hill, Colonel Disnee, Colonel Windress, Colonel Clayton and Colonel Kaine, with upwards of five thousand men, who arrived safe in health, and encamped on Noddle's Island, where the General invited the Governor to view them under arms. They made the finest ap-

pearance that was ever yet seen or known in America. Her Majesty, out of her royal favor, was also pleased to send six ships, with all manner of warlike stores, and a fine train of artillery, with forty horses to draw the same.

It is surprising to think how vigorously this expedition was forwarded, while at Boston, although a town but of eighty years standing, out of a howling wilderness; yet scarce any town in the kingdom (but where stores are laid up before) could have effected the same in so short a time. For in less than a month the whole army was supplied with ten weeks' provision, and all other necessaries that were wanted, besides two regiments of our New-England forces, under the command of Colonel Vetch and Colonel Walton, who embarked at the same time, in transports of our own. On the day that the fleet sailed, Colonel Nicholson set out for New-York, and from thence for Albany, having ordered batteaux before, and every thing else on the inland frontiers, to be in readiness for passing the lake with utmost application. The assembly of New-York raised ten thousand pounds, besides their proportion of men, the Jerseys five, and although Pennsylvania was not so free of their persons, because of their persuasion, yet were as generous in their purse, as any of the other colonies in carrying on the expedition.

Every thing now looked with a smiling aspect of success, considering the powerful strength by land and sea, the former being as fine regimental troops as any that belonged to the Duke of Marlborough's army; and the latter as serviceable ships as any in the whole navy, which for better satisfaction I have here inserted.

The Swiftzure, to lead with starboard.
The Monmouth, with the larboard tack aboard.

Ships' Names.	Captains.	Men.	Guns.
Swiftzure,	Joseph Soans	444	70
Sunderland,	Gore	365	60
Enterprize,	Smith	190	40
Saphire,	Cockburn	190	40
Windsor,	Artist	365	60
Kingstown,	Winder	365	60
Montague,	Walton	165	60
Devonshire,	Cooper	520	80
Edgar, *Sr.* H. Walker,	*Admiral*	470	70
Humber,	Colliford	520	80
Dunkirk,	Rouse	365	60
Feversham,	Paston	196	36
Leopard,	Cook	280	50
Chester,	Mathews	280	54
Monmouth,	Mitchel	440	70
15	15	5351	890

The first harbor they made after they sailed from Nantasket, was Cape Gaspey, from thence they sailed up St. Lawrence river, until they got up off the Virgin Mountains; the weather then proving foggy, and the wind freshening, the Admiral asked the pilots what was best to do? who advised that as the fleet was on the north shore, it would be best to bring to, with their heads unto the southward, but he obstinately refusing, acted the reverse, and ordered their heads unto the north, which was so astonishing unto the pilots, that one and another foretold their fear (unto the officers) and the destiny that would attend them before the morning; which accordingly fell out. For at one of the clock, nine ships, with 1500 men were all cast ashore, and most of the rest in as eminent danger; but so soon as the former struck, they fired their guns, which gave caution to the rest, some of which wore, and stood off; others were so encompassed by the breakers that they were obliged to bring to their anchors, which was their last refuge; but before the day approached, the wind

happily shifted to W. N. W. upon which they cut their cables, and came to sail. Soon after, a council of war was called, but the result not known until the evening, and then the flag bore away to Spanish River, without giving the usual signal; on which many of the windward ships were left behind; but a small man of war was ordered to cruise the next day for those that were left, and to take up such as might be alive among the dead, who were about six hundred. After this, they made towards the fleet, but were eight days in getting down; during which time the wind was eastwardly, and had our fleet proceeded, (as it were to be wished they had) might easily have got unto Quebeck in forty-eight hours.

Upon this disaster, the whole country (and indeed the nation) was alarmed, and many censures and jealousies arose, some imputing it to cowardice, but most to treachery, and the secret influence of some malcontents then at helm; otherwise why would a matter of such vast importance to the British kingdom, be hushed up in silence, and the principal officers not summoned to appear? If the Admiral was in fault, wherefore was he not called to an account? Or why did not the General, to vindicate himself, lay a remonstrance before the council board? And the pilots, (who were ordered from hence at so great a charge to the country, to represent matters in a true light) been examined? But instead thereof, dismissed without being asked one question. However, one thing is remarkable, that among those that were shipwrecked, and lost their lives, there was but one single person that belonged to New-England among them.

Colonel Nicholson at this juncture was industriously engaged in getting the batteaux ready for passing the lake with a considerable number of friend Indians, as well as English, for the attack of Montreal, which next to Quebec was the place of greatest importance in all the French territories.

But just as he was ready to embark, an express came and gave an account of the miserable disaster that befel the fleet: whereas, if he had proceeded, his whole army would probably have been cut off; for upon advice of our fleet's misfortune, the French drew off all their auxiliaries, and most of their militia to reinforce Montreal, being advised of the descent that was making on them. So great was our loss in this enterprise, that it affected the whole country seven years after; as the advance and expense of so much money and provisions might well do. And it as much flushed the enemy: for out of the ruins of our vessels they not only got much plunder, but fortified their castle and out batteries, with a considerable number of cannon. They moreover stirred up the French and Indians about Annapolis Royal to revolt from their allegiance to the crown. Capt. Pidgeon being ordered up the river for timber to repair the fort, was violently attacked by no less than one hundred and fifty, who killed the whole boat's crew, wounded the fort major, and afterwards very barbarously murdered him. They also slew Capt. Forbis, the engineer, besides several others, and took thirty-four of them prisoners. Soon after this, we were informed of the arrival of our British forces in England, on the 9th of October, at Portsmouth, where on the 15th following, the Admiral's ship, the Edgar, was accidentally blown up, with 400 seamen and several other people on board, all the officers being on shore.

The reduction of Canada was a matter of great consequence, not only to the interest of New-England and the adjacent colonies; but also to the whole British empire. Not that in itself it is of such intrinsic value; for that the cold is so great, and the ice so rigid, as to embargo it more than half the year. But as the ingenious Mr. Dummer observes, in a letter of his to a noble lord in the year 1712, the consequence would be very valua-

ble; for as it extends above one thousand leagues towards the Mississippi, it would require a vast consumption yearly of the English manufacture to support it; there being so great a number of several nations that live behind, which bring down vast quantities of furs of all sorts, as amount to an incredible sum. But Her Majesty's royal aim, as he notes, was not so immediately to advance a trade, as the security and peace of her good subjects in North America; being thoroughly apprized that so long as the French inhabit there, so long the English would be in hazard.

The Hudson's Bay Company, as well as Newfoundland, have given a melancholy account of the many ravages that have been committed there by the powerful assistance of those savages. I am not insensible that many have blamed New-England, and cast the odium wholly on them for not succeeding in this enterprize; but why New-England should be branded with such infamy, I never could yet hear the grounds, or any reason assigned, but what sprung from some capricious brains, who were no well wishers either to the cause or country, and would stigmatize us if possible, as enemies to the church, and disloyal to our sovereign. But why enemies to the church? or wherein is it that we differ from them? save only in the ceremonies, which none of them will allow to be essential. We indeed are called dissenters; but many of those that are of the church, dissent more from one another than we do: for what we differ from, is, (as they themselves term it) only in matters of indifferency; but many of them are dissenters from their own articles of faith. Is not our own doctrine the same? the Sabbath as strictly solemnized? and our mode of worship as agreeable to the primitive constitution, as any other church in the world? Not but that we have degenerated from the pious steps of our forefathers, yet I am bold to say, that as to number, there are as many sincere and good

people in New-England, as in any one part of the world. But I beg pardon for this digression, which is only to wipe off the calumny that is too often cast upon us. Now as to our loyalty, such pregnant instances may be given thereof, as will be surprizing to posterity. Witness our generous and noble undertaking in the reduction of Port Royal under Sir William Phips; and after that, in the year 1690, in our descent on Canada, where we lost many hundred brave men, and at our own cost expended upwards of one hundred and forty thousand pounds in money, without any allowance or assistance from the Crown. After this, a new descent on Port Royal, which although we miscarried in that also, yet as Mr. Dummer observes, we were not dispirited in raising another body of troops under the command of Colonel Nicholson. And all this under the oppression of twenty years war before, by the French and Indians. Yet in the last fatal expedition, we supplied more than our quota which the Queen assigned; besides, great sums were advanced to furnish the British forces, which but few towns in the kingdom of England were able to effect; and none could do it with greater alacrity and cheerfulness of spirit than we did.

In the history of Sir Sebastian Cabot,* which I before hinted, we were informed that he took the great river of St. Lawrence for the crown of Great Britain, in the reign of King Henry the seventh, which, according to the French historians, contains almost 2000 miles in length and 340 in breadth, situate between the 39th and 64th degrees of north latitude, which takes in Acadia, Newfoundland and Terra De Labrador. This great territory, in the beginning of the last century, by the contrivance of some then at helm, was taken possession of by the French, who since that, have made many fine settlements, more especially at Montreal and Que-

[*Cobbet, in the copy.]

bec. The latter is called a city commanded by a castle, which stands on an eminence, in which are five churches, a cathedral, a bishop and twelve prebendaries. Our unhappy disappointment against Canada gave great uneasiness to the country, and was matter of fear lest new reprisals would be made on the out-skirts; wherefore it was determined that Colonel Walton with one hundred and eighty men, should go to Penobscot and the adjacent territories, where he burnt two fishing vessels, (that were preparing to come upon us early in the spring) and took several captives, with some plunder.

But New-England at this time was not alone insulted. The Jesuits were every way endeavouring to stir up the Indians, and at last did influence them to make a descent on the borders of Virginia, where they murdered a great many of the Palatines: upon which, a considerable number was raised, who went in quest of them, and destroyed four towns, besides a great many whom they took prisoners. Some of them were supposed to be the Senecas, who are a branch of the Five Nations. Another tribe called the Choctaws,* made many incursions on Carolina; upon which Col. Gibs, the Governor, commissioned Capt. Hastings, and B———, the Indian Emperor, who was in league with the English; as also Capt. Welch, with the assistance of the Chickasaw† Indians, to fall on them in several parts, and in a little time got to their head-quarters, where the enemy in three divisions endeavoured to surround them, but after a smart engagement, received a perfect overthrow, which was followed with the burning and destroying four hundred houses or wigwams. The friend Indians appeared bold and active, but for want of discipline and good regulation, did not the service that otherwise they might. After this, Col. Barnwell went in pursuit of another nation called the Tuskaroras,‡ and entirely routed them.

[* Shacktaus, in the copy. † Chicksha, in the copy. ‡ Tuskarorahs, in the copy.]

I now return to our frontiers, where at Exeter, April 16th, 1712, they killed Mr. Cuningham as he was travelling the road from Mr. Hilton's to Exeter. After this, they shot Samuel Webber between York and Cape Neddick: others fell on several teams in Wells, where they slew three and wounded as many more. One of the slain was Lieut. Littlefield, who a little before was redeemed out of captivity, and a person very much lamented. Soon after, they appeared in the middle of the town, and carried away two from thence. They went to Spruce Creek, where they killed a boy, and took another, and then went to York, but being pursued, made their escape. Another party fell on the upper branch of Oyster river, where they shot Jeremiah Cromett, and three miles higher, burnt a saw mill with a great many thousand of boards. Next day, they slew Ensign Tuttle at Tole-End,† and wounded a son of Lieut. Herd's as he stood sentinel. May 14th, about thirty French and Indians who had a design on York, surprized a scout of ours as they were marching to Cape Neddick, where they slew Sergeant Nalton, and took seven besides: the remainder fought on a retreat till they got to a rock, which for some time proved a good barrier to them, and there continued until they were relieved by the vigilant care of Capt. Willard. About this time, fifty of our English who went up Merrimack river returned, with the good account of eight Indians that they had slain, and of considerable plunder besides which they had taken, without the loss of one man.

June 1st, they again came to Spruce Creek, where they shot John Pickernell as he was locking his door, and going to the garrison; they also wounded his wife and knocked a child on the head, which they scalped, yet afterwards it recovered. Two days after they were seen at Amesbury, then at Kingston, where they wounded Ebenezer Ste-

† In Dover.

vens and Stephen Gilman, the latter of which they took alive and inhumanly murdered. After this, they killed one at Newichawanick and on July 18th, fell on a company at Wells, where they slew another and took a Negro captive, who afterwards made his escape. The Sabbath after, they endeavoured to intercept the people at Dover as they came from worship; upon which a scout was sent in pursuit, but made no discovery. Yet in the intermitting time, they took two children* from Lieut. Heard's garrison, and not having time to scalp them, cut off both their heads, and carried them away. There was not a man at that time at home; however, one Esther Jones supplied the place of several; for she courageously advanced the watch box, crying aloud, 'here they are, come on, come on;' which so terrified them as to make them draw off, without doing any further mischief. The enemy at this time were thought to be very numerous, for they appeared in many parties, which occasioned an additional number to be left to cover the frontiers, under the command of Capt. Davis, whose vigilant care (through the blessing of God on it) kept them from doing any further mischief. September 1st, they killed John Spencer, and wounded Dependance Stover.† At this time, a sloop from Placentia, with forty-five French and Indians, was cruising on our coast, which Captain Carver observing, gave her chase, and took her. But our fishery at Cape Sables, through the defect of the guard-ship, were great sufferers, where no less than twenty fell into their hands.

The last action that happened (of any moment) this war, was at Mr. Plaisted's marriage with Capt. Wheelwright's daughter of Wells, where happened a great concourse of people, who, as they were preparing to mount in order to their return, found

[* Belonging to John Wahlron.—See 1 *Belknap*, 284.]
[† Probably Storer.]

two of their horses missing; upon which, Mr. Downing, with Isaac Cole and others, went out to seek them; but before they had gone many rods, the two former were killed, and the others taken. The noise of the guns soon alarmed the guests, and Capt. Lane, Capt. Robinson and Capt. Heard, with several others mounted their horses, ordering twelve soldiers in the mean time to run over the field, being the nearer way; but before the horsemen got far, they were ambushed by another party, who killed Capt. Robinson, and dismounted the rest; and yet they all escaped except the bridegroom, who in a few days after was redeemed by the prudent care of his father, at the expense of more than three hundred pounds. Capt. Lane and Capt. Harmon mustered what strength they could, and held a dispute with them some time, but there was little or no execution done on either side.

Not long after this, we had advice of a suspension of arms between the two crowns, which the Indians being apprized of, came in with a flag of truce, and desired a treaty. Their first application was to Capt. Moody at Casco, desiring that the conference might be there; but the governor not willing so far to condescend, ordered it to be at Portsmouth, where they accordingly met July 11th, 1713, three delegates from St. John's, three from Kennebeck, including the other settlements from Penacook, Amasecontee, Norridgewoc, Saco, and all other adjacent places; where articles of pacification were drawn up, which I have hereunto annexed, viz.:

"Whereas, for some years last past, we have made a breach of our fidelity and loyalty to the crown of Great Britain, and have made open rebellion against her Majesty's subjects, the English inhabiting the Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, and other her Majesty's territories in New-England; and being now sensible of the miseries which we and our people are reduced unto thereby; we whose

names are hereunto subscribed, being delegates of all the Indians belonging to Norridgewoc, Narahamegock, Amasecontee, Pigwacket, Penacook, rivers of St. John's and Merrimack, parts of her Majesty's provinces of the Massachusetts Bay, and New-Hampshire, within her Majesty's sovereignty, having made application to his Excellency Joseph Dudley, Esq., Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over the said provinces, that the troubles which we have unhappily raised or occasioned against her Majesty's subjects the English and ourselves may cease and have an end; and that we may again enjoy her Majesty's grace and favour. And each of us respectively for ourselves, and in the names and with the free consent of all the Indians belonging to the several places and rivers aforesaid, and all other Indians within the said provinces of the Massachusetts Bay, and New-Hampshire, hereby acknowledging ourselves the lawful subjects of our sovereign lady Queen Anne, and promising our hearty submission and obedience to the Crown of Great Britain, do solemnly covenant, promise and agree with the said Joseph Dudley, Governor, and all such as shall be hereafter in the place of Captain General and Governor in Chief of the said provinces and territories on her Majesty's behalf, in form following; that is to say, that at all times forever, from and after the date of these presents, we will cease and forbear all acts of hostility towards all the subjects of Great Britain, and not offer the least hurt or violence to them or any of them in their persons and estates; but will henceforth hold and maintain a firm and constant amity and friendship with all the English, and will never entertain any treasonable conspiracy with any other nation to their disturbance: that her Majesty's subjects the English shall, and may quietly and peaceably enter upon, improve and forever enjoy all and singular the rights of land and former settlements, properties and possessions within the

eastern parts of said provinces of the Massachusetts Bay and New-Hampshire, together with the islands, inlets, shores, beaches, and fishery within the same, without any molestation or claim by us or any other Indians, and be in no wise molested or disturbed therein; saving unto the Indians their own ground, and free liberty of hunting, fishing, fowling, and all other lawful liberties and privileges, as on the eleventh day of August, in the year of our Lord, one thousand six hundred and ninety-three: that for mutual safety and benefit, all trade and commerce which hereafter may be allowed betwixt the English and the Indians, shall be only in such places, and under such management and regulation, as shall be stated by her Majesty's government of the said provinces respectively.

"And to prevent mischiefs and inconveniencies, the Indians shall not be allowed for the present, or until they have liberty from the respective governments, to come near unto any English plantations or settlements on this side of Saco River.

"That if any controversy or difference happen hereafter, to and betwixt any of the English and the Indians for any real or supposed wrong or injury done on the one side or the other, no private revenge shall be taken by the Indians for the same, but proper application shall be made to her Majesty's governments upon the place for remedy thereof in due course of justice; we hereby submitting ourselves to be ruled and governed by her Majesty's laws, and desire to have the protection and benefit of the same.

"We confess that we have, contrary to all faith and justice, broken our articles with Sir William Phips, Governor in the year of our Lord God 1693, and with the Earl of Bellamont in the year 1699.

"And the assurance we gave to his Excellency Joseph Dudley, Esq. in the year of our Lord God, 1702, in the month of August, and 1703, in the month of July, notwithstanding we have been well treated

by the said governors. But we resolve for the future, not to be drawn into any perfidious treaty or correspondence, to the hurt of any of her Majesty's subjects of the crown of Great Britain; and if we know any such, we will seasonably reveal it to the English.

"Wherefore, we whose names are hereunto subscribed, delegates for the several tribes of Indians belonging to the river of Kennebeck, Ameriscoggin, St. John's, Saco, Merrimack, and the parts adjacent, being sensible of our great offence and folly in not complying with the aforesaid submission and agreements, and also the sufferings and mischiefs that we have thereby exposed ourselves unto, do in all humble and submissive manner, cast ourselves upon her Majesty for mercy and pardon for all our past rebellions, hostilities, and violations of our promises; praying to be received unto her Majesty's grace and favour.

"And for and on behalf of ourselves, and all other the Indians belonging to the several rivers and places aforesaid, within the sovereignty of her Majesty of Great Britian, do again acknowledge, and confess our hearty and sincere obedience unto the Crown of Great Britain, and do solemnly renew, and confirm all and every of the articles and agreements contained in the former and present submission.

"This treaty to be humbly laid before her Majesty for her ratification and further order. In witness whereof, we the delegates aforesaid, by name *Kizebenuit*, *Iteansis*, and *Jackoid* for Penobscot, *Joseph* and *Æneas* for St. John's, *Warrueensit*, *Wadacanaquin*, and *Bomazeen* for Kennebeck, have hereunto set our hands and seals this 13th day of July, 1713.

Signed, Sealed and delivered
in the presence of us,

Edmund Quincy,
Spencer Phips,
Wm. Dudley,
Shad. Walton,
Josiah Willard,
&c.

Signum *Kirebenuit*

Signum *Warraeensitt*

Signum *Bomaseen*

Signum *Wadacanaquin*

Signum *Æneas*

Signum *Iteansis*

Signum *Jackoid*

Signum *Joseph."*

Province of New-Hampshire.

The submission and pacification of the eastern Indians, was made and done the thirteenth day of July, 1713, Annoque Regni Reginæ nunc Magnæ Brittaniæ duodecimo.

Present, his Excellency Joseph Dudley, Esq., Captain General and Governor in Chief, in and over her Majesty's provinces of the Massachusetts Bay and New-Hampshire in New-England, and Vice-Admiral of the same.

Counsellors of the Massachusetts.

Samuel Sewall, Jonathan Corwin, Penn Townsend, John Appleton, John Higginson, Andrew Belcher, Thomas Noyes, Samuel Appleton, Ichabod Plaisted, John Wheelwright, and Benjamin Lynde, Esquires.

Counsellors of New-Hampshire.

William Vaughan, Peter Coffin, Robert Elliot, Richard Waldron, Nathaniel Weare, Samuel Penhallow, John Plaisted, Mark Hunking, and John Wentworth, Esquires.

For a further ratification of this treaty, several gentlemen of both governments went from Portsmouth to Casco, where a great body of Indians were assembled, to know the result of matters: it being a custom among them on all such occasions, to have the whole of their tribes present; having no other record of conveying to posterity, but what they communicate from father to son, and so to the son's son. When the several articles were read and explained, by interpreters upon oath, (the delegates being present) they signified an unanimous consent and satisfaction, by loud huzzas and acclamations of joy. Many presents were then made them, which were thankfully received, and every tribe had their proportion given out; but they were so disorderly, that Mauxis (although he was the Sagamore in all the eastern parts) was robbed by the morning of all he had; upon which he made a miserable complaint unto the English next day, of the unruliness of his young men, who had stolen away all he had, therefore, begged a new supply. But although their government is so anarchical, and their chiefs have so little respect and honour shewn them, yet in their council they observe a very excellent decorum; not suffering any to speak but one at a time, which is delivered with such a remarkable pathos and surprising gravity, that there is neither smile nor whisper to be observed, until

he that speaks has finished his discourse, who then sits down, and after that another rises up.

The peace thus concluded and so firmly ratified, gave matter of encouragement to the eastern inhabitants for re-settling their former habitations; who were also countenanced and assisted by the government, even from Cape Porpoise to Kennebeck river, where several gentlemen who had large tracts of land, granted a hundred acres to every one for encouragement that would go and settle; supporting a minister besides (for some time) and employed a sloop at their own charge for carrying and re-carrying the inhabitants with their stock; which gave so great encouragement that several towns began to be settled, as Brunswick,* Topsham, Augusta, Georgetown, &c., in which a great many fine buildings were erected, with several saw-mills, &c.

A fishery was also undertaken by the ingenious Doctor Noyes, where twenty vessels were employed at a time. He afterwards built a stone garrison at Augusta at his own charge, which was judged to be the best in the eastern country; and for a while was kept at the public cost, but afterwards slighted; which occasioned the inhabitants to withdraw, and then the Indians burnt it with several other houses.

In Kennebeck river, the Sturgeon fishery was also begun and carried on with so great success, that many thousand kegs were made in a season, and esteemed as good as any that ever came from Hambrough or Norway: besides vast quantities of pipe staves, hogshead and barrel, pine boards, plank, and timber of all sorts, which were not only transported to Boston, but to foreign places. Husbandry also began to thrive, and great stocks of cattle were raised.

[* Bromswick, in the copy. This town was settled as early as 1675, by a Mr. Purchase, who lived near the head of Steven's river and traded with the Indians, of whom he obtained grants of land; but the first settlements here were broken up in 1676.—*Sullivan* 177.]

The French missionaries perceiving the growth of these plantations, soon animated the Indians to disrest them, by insinuating that the land was theirs, and that the English invaded their properties; which was a vile and wrong suggestion, for that their conveyances were from the ancient Sagamores, at least seventy years before; and the proprietors did not settle so high up by several miles as was formerly possessed by their predecessors.

However the Indians could not be satisfied, but so threatened the inhabitants, that many withdrew, and others were discouraged from going to settle. Soon after, they killed many of their cattle, and committed many other outrages.

No sooner was this advice brought unto his Excellency, Samuel Shute, Esq., who was now Captain General and Governor in Chief, in and over the provinces of the Massachusetts Bay, and New-Hampshire, &c., (and one zealously affected for the interest of the country) but he appointed a Congress at Arrowsick, in Kennebeck river, in August, 1717, where a great number of Indians, with the chiefs of every tribe accordingly met. And some of the principal gentlemen of both provinces accompanied his Excellency to the place appointed. The complaints on each side being impartially heard and debated, the original deeds from the ancient Sagamores were produced and explained, having interpreters on oath. The articles drawn up and signed in the year 1713, were again read and ratified, to the seeming satisfaction of the principal Sachems, who inclined to peace; and imputed the late miscarriages unto the young men, but were now resolved on a firm harmony, and would in no respect violate the former treaties. Upon this, his Excellency made them several presents, which they thankfully received, and in acknowledgment thereof, returned him a belt of wampum, with some beaver skins. After this, they drank the King's health, and promised allegiance to the Crown of Great

Britain, so that every thing had now the promising aspect of a lasting peace. One thing I cannot here omit: three days after our departure, a number of Indians went a Duck-hunting, which was a season of the year that the old ones generally shed their feathers in, and the young ones are not so well flushed as to be able to fly; they drove them like a flock of sheep before them into the creeks, where without either powder or shot they killed at one time, four thousand and six hundred; for they followed them so close, that they knocked them down with billets and paddles, and sold a great number of them to the English for a penny a dozen, which is their practice yearly, though they seldom make so great a slaughter at once. But before two years were expired, they again began to insult the inhabitants, being spurred on by the Jesuits, which occasioned a scout of fifty or sixty men to be sent out, who kept them in some awe. But in the year 1720, they began to be more insolent, and appeared in greater bodies; upon which, Colonel Walton was ordered with about two hundred men to guard the frontiers, and was after that appointed with Capt. Moody, Harmon, Penhallow, and Wainwright, to send their Chiefs for satisfaction for the late hostilities which they had done in killing the cattle, &c. The Indians, fearing the event, promised to pay two hundred skins, and for their fidelity to deliver up four of their young men as hostages. After this, they became tolerably quiet, but in the spring grew as insolent as before; especially in Kennebeck, where, some time in July, they came with ninety canoes on the Padishal's island, which lies opposite to Arrowsick, and sent to speak with Capt. Penhallow, who fearing an intrigue, refused. Upon which, one hundred and fifty of them went over to him, with whom he held a conference; especially with Monsieur Delachase,* and Sebastian Ralle,

[* Probably Father De La Chasse, afterwards Superior General of the missions to New France.]

who were Jesuits; Monsieur Croizen from Canada, and St. Casteen from Penobscot, came also along with them, who brought a letter for governor Shute in behalf of the several tribes, importing, that if the English did not remove and quit their land in three weeks, they would burn their houses and kill them, as also their cattle. Upon this, an additional number of soldiers were sent under the command of Col. Thaxter and Lieut. Col. Goffe; and several gentlemen of the council were also appointed to inquire into the ground of these tumults, and, if possible, to renew the pacification; who accordingly went and sent scouts to call the Indians in, but they slighted the message with derision. Hereupon, the soldiers were ordered to continue, and reinforce the garrisons that winter. But in the summer, they renewed their insults, and on the 13th of June, 1722, about sixty of them, in twenty canoes, came and took nine families in Merrymeeting Bay, most of which they afterwards set at liberty, but sent Mr. Hamilton, Love, Handson, Trescot and Edgar to Canada; who, with great difficulty and expense, afterwards got clear. They then made a descent on St. Georges, where they burnt a sloop, took several prisoners, and fought the garrison some time; and in a month after, came a greater body from Penobscot, who killed five, and engaged the fort twelve days; being very much encouraged by the influence of the Friar that was with them. But finding they could make no great impression, endeavoured to undermine it, and had made a considerable progress therein, till upon the falling of much rain, the trenches caved in, which caused the siege to break up, with the loss of twenty of them in the engagement, as we were afterwards informed. About the same time, Capt. Samuel with five others boarded Lieut. Tilton, as he lay at anchor a fishing, near Damaris Cove. They pinioned him and his brother, and beat them very sorely: but at last, one got clear and released the

other, who then fell with great fury upon the Indians, threw one overboard, and mortally wounded two more.

Capt. Savage, Capt. Blin, and Mr. Newton, who at this time were coming from Annapolis, and knew nothing of their ravages, went into Passamaquoddy for water. They were no sooner ashore, but found themselves hemmed in by a body of Indians, the French basely standing by and suffering it. They wanted to divide the cargo of the sloop among them, and at last sent Capt. Savage on board to procure some ransom. But the wind rising, he was forced off, and made the best of his way to Boston. Those that he left (after some difficulty and expense) were released.

Capt. Harmon, who was now in Kennebeck, went up the river with a detachment of thirty-four men, and seeing some fires, went ashore in the night, where he came on eleven canoes. The Indians were lying round the fire, and so wearied, by much dancing the day before upon the success they had, that they stumbled over them as they lay asleep. Reports were various as to the number of Indians that were then slain; some say eighteen, others not so many: however, they brought away fifteen guns; and at a little distance, found the hand of an Englishman laid on the stump of a tree, and his body mangled after a barbarous manner; having his tongue, nose, and private parts cut off. They brought away the body, and gave it a decent burial. It was found to be the body of Moses Eaton, of Salisbury.

In this brave attempt of Capt. Harmon, which was effected in ten minutes, we lost not one man; yet at the same time a great body of Indians lay near, who being startled at the noise that was made, arose and fired several guns, but did no damage.*

[* About the year 1720, Capt. Thomas Baker of Northampton, in the county of Hampshire, in Massachusetts, sat off with a scouting party of thirty-four men, pas-

The country at this time was in a surprizing ferment, and generally disposed to a war; but the governor and council could not readily come into it, considering the vast expense and effusion of blood that would unavoidably follow. Besides, some were not satisfied with the lawfulness of it at this time: for although they believed the Indians to be very criminal in many respects, yet were of opinion that the English had not so punctually observed the promises made to them of trading-houses for the benefit of commerce and traffick, and for the preventing of frauds and extortions, too common in the private dealings of the English with them. But the grand abuse to them is the selling of strong drink to them, which has occasioned much quarrelling and sin, and the loss of many lives, to the great scandal of religion and reproach of the country. His Excellency was sensible of the promises that he made to them at the treaty of pacification, which he failed not to lay before the general assembly; but he met with so much opposition that nothing could be effected. The firing an Armourer at the publick charge, was also engaged, but nothing done therein; so that the Indians were full of resentments, and thought themselves wronged. Yet all this time, they made no application unto the government for redress, which they ought to have done by the articles of agreement, but broke forth into horrid and cruel outrages, by burning, killing, and destroying. At last the Governor, by repeated addresses from the people, was obliged to call the

---

sed up Connecticut river, and crossed the height of land to Pemigewasset river. He there discovered a party of Indians, whose Sachem was called Walternummus, whom he attacked and destroyed. Baker and the Sachem levelled and discharged their guns at each other at the same instant. The ball from the Indian's gun grazed Baker's left eyebrow, but did him no injury. The ball from Baker's gun went through the breast of the Sachem. Immediately upon being wounded, he leaped four or five feet high, and then fell instantly dead. The Indians fled to the river; Baker and his party pursued, and destroyed every one of them. They had a wigwam on the bank of the river, which was nearly filled with beaver. Baker's party took as much of it as they could carry away, and burned the rest. Baker lost none of his men in this skirmish. It took place at the confluence of a small river with the Pemigewasset, between Plymouth and Campton, which has since had the name of Baker's river.—*Farmer's & Moore's Collections, Vol. III. p.* 100.

Council together to concert what was proper to be done, who advised to the proclaiming an open war. But their not consulting beforehand with the other governments, was certainly a great oversight; who probably would have come into it, and thereby have helped to support the charge, which now lay wholly on the Massachusetts and New-Hampshire.

Proclamation.

"Whereas the Indians inhabiting the eastern parts of this province, notwithstanding their repeated submissions to his Majesty's crown and government, their publick and solemn treaties and engagements entered into with the government here established, to demean themselves peaceably and amicably towards his Majesty's good subjects of this province; and notwithstanding the kind and good treatment they have received from the government, have for some years last past appeared in considerable numbers in an hostile manner, and given disturbance to his Majesty's subjects in the eastern parts of this province, killing their cattle and threatening destruction to their persons and estates; and in abuse of the lenity and forbearance of the government, have lately with the utmost injustice and treachery proceeded to plunder, despoil, and take captive many of his Majesty's good subjects, to assault, take, burn, and destroy vessels upon the seacoasts, and houses and mills upon the land; to wound some, and in a most barbarous and cruel manner to murder others, of the inhabitants of this province; and in a way of open rebellion and hostility, to make an audacious and furious assault upon one of his Majesty's forts when the King's colors were flying.

"I do therefore, by and with the advice of his Majesty's council, hereby declare and proclaim the said eastern Indians, with their confederates, to be robbers, traitors, and enemies to his Majesty King George, his crown and dignity, and that they be henceforth proceeded against as such: willing and requiring all his Majesty's good subjects, as they shall have opportunity, to do and execute all acts of hostility against them; hereby also forbidding all his Majesty's good subjects to hold any correspondence with the said Indians, or to give, aid, comfort, succor or relief unto them, on penalty of the laws in that case made and provided. And whereas there be some of the said Indians who have not been concerned in the perfidious and barbarous acts beforementioned, and many may be desirous to put themselves under the protection of this government:

"To the intent, therefore, that the utmost clemency may be shewn to such, I do hereby grant and allow them to come in and render themselves to the commanding officer of the forces, or to the respective officer of any party or parties in the service; provided it may be within forty days from this time. And to the in-

tent that none of our friend Indians may be exposed, or any rebels or enemy Indians may escape on pretence of being friends; I do hereby strictly forbid any of the said Indians to move out of their respective plantations, or such other places whereto they shall be assigned, or to come into any English town or district, within the colony of the Massachusetts Bay or the county of York, without being attended with such men as I shall appoint to oversee them, at their peril, and as they tender their own safety. And further, I forbid all the friend Indians to hold communion with, harbour or conceal any of the said rebels, or enemy Indians; requiring them to seize and secure all such that may come among them, and to deliver them up to justice.

"And all military commission-officers are hereby authorized and commanded to put this declaration and order into execution.

Given at the Council Chamber in Boston, the twenty-fifth of July, 1722.

SAMUEL SHUTE.

Josiah Willard, Secr.

GOD SAVE THE KING."

The abovesaid declaration (for substance) was also given out the week after, at the council chamber at Portsmouth, in the province of New-Hampshire.

Now, although the settlements in Kennebeck were the first that were molested, yet it is not to be supposed that the bent of the enemies fury was on them alone, as some would insinuate; for at the same time they interrupted the fishery throughout all Nova-Scotia. Many have reflected on the government for suffering a fort to be at St. Georges, as if that did irritate the Indians; but why the proprietors might not make an improvement thereof, as well as any others on their right of purchase, I know not; considering that it was granted from the crown, and no exemption made at the treaty of peace. Yet at the same time I must be free to say, that there was too great indulgence at first in the government in suffering so many townships at so great a distance to be laid out at once, unless they were more peopled; which has since been the occasion not only of a vast expense, but a great effusion of blood.

The number of vessels were about sixteen which the enemy took at Canso, as they went into the harbors for their necessity; which so soon as governor Phillips was apprised of, he summoned the several masters ashore with the sailors, and proposed the fitting out of two sloops well manned, for recovering the vessels and captives, which being approved of, he forthwith ordered the drums to beat for volunteers, and in less than half a day, fixed them out with about twenty men in each, under the command of Capt. Elliot and Capt. Robinson, who freely offered their services; but as Capt. Elliot out-sailed the other, he got first to a harbor called Winpague, where he discovered some vessels, and bore directly down upon them, till he came pretty near. The Indians being flushed with success, and having thirty-nine on board one of the vessels which they had took, and seeing no more men on board the English than what was usual, commanded them to strike for that they were their prize. Unto whom Capt. Elliot replied that he was hastening to them; and in an instant called his men on deck, who fired on them with a loud huzza, and clapped them on board; which was so surprizing a salutation, that they made a most dreadful yelling. However, they resisted as well as they could for about half an hour, in which time Capt. Elliot received three wounds, when Mr. Bradstreet, who commanded the soldiers, entered with hand-grenadoes, most of the Indians jumped overboard, who were shot in the water. Those that ran down in the hold, were tore in pieces by the shells, so that only five escaped, who were wounded. One of our men was killed, and several hurt, particularly the corporal of the troops, who had five swan-shot in his body. Capt. Elliot being ill of his wounds, was obliged to return, carrying with him seven vessels into Canso, which he re-took with fifteen captives, six hundred quintals of fish, and two heads of the chiefs of those Indians that were among them. Up-

on this the Governor ordered the same sloop back with a fresh supply of men to reinforce Capt. Robinson, who in a week after brought in two Indian scalps, a schooner and a sloop, which they took at Mallegash.

After that he met with a Frenchman and an English captive, who informed of a body of Indians and five vessels that lay at a little distance, which he immediately went in pursuit of; but fearing the event, was not willing at the first to engage them, but kept at some distance, and then three canoes with three Indians in each, double armed, drew near, one of which came on board, as the rest lay on their paddles, whom they treated friendly in expectation of a greater prize. But the Indian growing jealous attempted to escape, and presented his gun to Lieut. Johnson's breast, which he putting by, shot him dead. Upon this, they fired upon those in the canoes, and killed three. The enemy was so numerous ashore, that he thought it not safe to encounter them; however he took one vessel. At this time they had twenty of our English captives, but could not come to a fair capitulation about their redemption. However, the Captain warned them to use them well, for as we had thirty of theirs at Annapolis, twenty at Boston, and as many more at Canso, as they treated ours, so we would theirs. Mr. Bradstreet now steered to the westward of the harbor, where Capt. Elliot had the dispute beforementioned, where he re-took three vessels more, but could see neither captive nor Indians. The day after, Capt. Blin very happily arrived with a flag of truce and redeemed seven vessels and twenty-four captives, who otherwise would have been put to death. From thence he sailed to the Cape, and in his returning back, took three or four Indians, which he carried to Boston. Capt. Southack being informed of a small body that was then at Astagenash in the gulf of St. Lawrence, where Monsieur Golden, the famous Friar, did reside, had

an intent to visit him; but in his passage through the gut, was happily diverted, where meeting with two canoes, in which were six Indians, he killed one, and took the other five.

The general assembly not finding the former bounty sufficiently encouraging to volunteers, now passed an act of one hundred pounds a scalp to all such as supported themselves, and whoever was subsisted by the publick, should have sixty pounds for the like: that any company or troop issuing forth upon an alarm, should over and above the establishment have thirty pounds, and an encouraging reward besides, for all prisoners that they took; and whatever plunder might be taken should be shared among them. And if any volunteers or detached soldiers should happen to be wounded or maimed in the service, that during the continuance of such wound or maim, he shall be allowed such a stipend or pension as the general court should think fit to order.

September the 10th, we had a surprizing account from Arrowsick of four or five hundred Canada and Cape Sable Indians, that fell upon them early in the morning, who probably would have laid all desolate, had they not been seasonably discovered by a small guard, which Capt. Penhallow was sending out for assisting the neighbourhood to gather in the corn; who killed one and wounded three more of the company: the report of which guns did so alarm the inhabitants, that they, with most of their substance, got seasonably into the garrison. Their first appearance seemed terrible, considering their number, with the fewness of those that were to defend; who fought the garrison some time, and shot Samuel Brooking through a port-hole; after that, they had killed fifty head of cattle, and burnt twenty-six dwelling-houses. The same day, in the evening, came Col. Walton and Capt. Harmon, with about thirty men in two whale-boats, who, with those of Capt. Temple and Penhallow's men, (that

could be spared out of the garrisons) made about seventy, and gave them battle some time: but the enemy were so numerous, that they were like to have hemmed them in, had they not fought upon a retreat.

In the night, they drew off, without much cause of triumph, and went up the river, where they attacked Mr. Stratton, as he was turning down in his sloop, whom they mortally wounded; then went to Richmond, where some time they held a dispute with the garrison, and afterwards drew off. The last that fell this season was a man at Berwick.

His Excellency's affairs now calling him to Great Britain, the government of the Massachusetts was wholly devolved on the Honourable William Dummer, Esq. Lieut. Governor; during whose administration, there were as many remarkable turns of divine providence, (respecting the enemy) as have happened since the war commenced; whose prudence and good conduct have made him acceptable unto all.

The first alteration that he made, was in commissionating Col. Westbrook as Chief in the eastern affairs; who, on the 10th of February, marched to Penobscot, and Capt. Harmon at the same time up Ameriscoggin* river, but neither of them had any success, save burning their chapel and some wigwams. Capt. Sayward, with a company of volunteers, went as far as the White Hills, near one hundred miles into the enemies' country, but met with the like misfortune.

So soon as the spring advanced, they began to appear as furious as ever. At Scarborough, they killed Thomas Larabee and his son: after that, Mrs. Dearing† and two soldiers, where they also took Mary Scamond, John Hunuel, and Robert

---

[* Amanascoggin, in copy.]

[† Mrs. Dearing was the wife of Roger Dearing, who lived on a farm since well known by the name of *Nonesuch*. Hutchinson informs us that the Indians also took three of his children as they were picking berries, and killed two other persons.]

Jordan. Another party came to Cochecho, where they slew Tristram Head,* Joseph Ham, and carried three children captive. From thence, they went to Lamprey-Eel river, where they killed Aaron Rawlins with one of his children, carrying away his wife and three more with them. At Northfield, they shot two,† and meeting with the Reverend Mr. Willard of Rutland, they laid violent hands upon him; but he being a person of courage agreeable to his strength, he slew one and wounded another, till at last they gave him the fatal stroke.‡ Two of Ensign Stevens' sons were also killed, and two more carried captive.

Capt. Watkins, who at this time was engaged on a fishing voyage at Canso, was surprized by a small body in the night while abed. The day before he was at church, and it happened that two ministers, in two different congregations, preached on one and the same subject; namely, preparing for sudden death; not knowing how soon or in what manner death would attack them. His lodging was on an island at a little distance from the fort, and although he was so strongly importuned by several of his friends to stay with them that night, as if they had a secret impulse of some impending evil; yet all

---

[*Tristram *Heard*, says Dr. Belknap.]

[†These persons were killed on the 14th of August.]

[‡Rev. Joseph Willard graduated at Yale College, 1714, and was settled at Sunderland, from whence he removed to Rutland, and on the 12th July, 1721, was invited to settle in the ministry. The day of his installation was deferred on account of the discouragements of the times, till the fall of 1723, when he was cut off by the enemy. The following account of his death, and other Indian depredations, is given by Mr. Whitney, in his *History of Worcester County*.

As Deacon Joseph Stevens and four of his sons were making hay in a meadow, at Rutland, on the 14th August, 1723, they were surprized by five Indians. The father escaped in the bushes; two of the sons were slain, and two, Phineas and Isaac, were made prisoners. Two of the five Indians way-laid a Mr. Davis and son, who that afternoon were making hay in a meadow not far off, but weary of waiting, they were returning to the others, and met Mr. Willard in their way, who was armed. One of the Indians' guns missed fire, the others did no execution. Mr. Willard returned the fire and wounded one of them, it is said mortally; the other closed in with Mr. Willard; but he would have been more than a match for him, had not the other three come to his assistance: and it was some considerable time before they killed Mr. Willard. Phineas Stevens, above mentioned, was the celebrated warrior in the Cape Breton war: and the one who so bravely defended Charlestown, N. H., on the 4th of April, 1747, when attacked by 400 French and Indians under Mons. Debeline.]

the arguments they could use, could no ways prevail or influence him. He was a gentleman of singular good temper, respected and lamented by all that knew him. John Drew of Portsmouth (a pretty youth) was slain with him, at the same time.

The delegates of the six nations of Iroquois, with the Mohegan and Scatacook Indians, being disposed to come to Boston, were kindly entertained there. And at a conference with the General Assembly, signified a great concern for the blood that was so often shed by their kinsmen and brethren; that from the original they were friends to the English, and as a testimony of their continuing so, presented a belt of wampum; which according to their custom, is the renewing the covenant. His Honor the Lieut. Governor, as an acknowledgment, gave each of them a piece of plate, with figures engraven thereon, as a turtle, a bear, a hatchet, a wolf, &c., which were the escutcheons of their several tribes. And the more to oblige them to our interest, they had a promise made of one hundred pounds a scalp for every Indian that they killed or took; which seemed so pleasing to them that they manifested a readiness of taking up the hatchet in favour of the English, whenever any hostility was made against them. After this, they were entertained with the curious sight of a gun that was made by the ingenious Mr. Pim of Boston; which although loaded but once, yet was discharged eleven times following with bullets, in the space of two minutes; each of which went through a double door at fifty yards distance. They were then presented with an ox, which with bows and arrows they killed and dressed according to their own custom; where thousands of spectators were present to behold and hear their barbarous singing and dancing. But notwithstanding this free and generous entertainment, with the firm promises they made of falling on our enemies, (whenever they made any insults on us) all proved of little or no significancy; which was principally

owing to the powerful influence of the Dutch, for the sake of trade and commerce with them, as was observed on the like occasion.*

October the 13th,† we had an account from Northfield, of a body of Indians that fell on the town-fort, where they wounded two and killed as many more. Soon after, they surprized Mr. Cogshell and his boat's company as they were going ashore at Mount Desart.

December 5th, about sixty laid siege to St. George's garrison, where they continued thirty days, and were not a little flushed with the expectation of success; for at their first coming they took two soldiers, who gave an account of the state of matters: but Mr. Canady, the commanding officer, being one of uncommon courage and resolution, stood his ground till Col. Westbrook arrived, who soon put them to a rout. After this, some came to Berwick, where they took a soldier as he was carelessly wandering from the garrison.

The favourableness of the winter prevented our marching to any of their head quarters this season, excepting to Norridgewock, where Capt. Moulton found a vile and pernicious letter from the governor of Quebeck, directed unto the Friar, exhorting him to push on the Indians with all imaginable zeal against the English, whose advice he as industriously pursued.‡

April 17th, 1724, they shot William Mitchel of Scarborough, as he was ploughing in the field, and took two of his sons, who afterwards were released at the taking of Norridgewock.§ They then fell on a sloop at Kennebunk, which belonged to Lynn, and killed the whole company. But the greatest

---

[* In this year, [1723] two persons, by the names of Smith and Bailey, were killed at Cape Porpoise; the former, on Vaughn's island; the latter, at a place near where the old meeting-house stood, on the sea-shore.—*Sullivan*, 230.]

[† October 11th, says Hutchinson, see p. 275.]

[‡ March 23, 1724, one Smith, sergeant of the fort at Cape Porpoise, was killed.]

[§ About the same time Mitchell was killed, John Felt, William Wormwell, and Ebenezer Lewis, were killed at a saw-mill on Kennebeck river.]

stroke was on Capt. Winslow, who with sixteen men in two whale-boats, went from St. George's to the Green Islands, where the enemy usually frequent on the account of fowling. But on their return, they were ambuscaded by two or three companies of them that lay on each side the river. The first that fell was serjeant Harvey, who commanded the other boat; for by keeping too near the shore, he gave the enemy the greater advantage: however, he returned the shot with as much bravery as could be expected, till overpowered by a multitude. Capt. Winslow,* who was considerably ahead and out of danger, perceiving the engagement, courageously returned back to their assistance. But before he could give them any relief, was surrounded with about thirty canoes, who made a hideous yelling; but he gave them no answer but from the muzzles of his guns. A smart engagement followed, which held till night: when finding his thigh broken, and most of his men slain, was obliged to hasten ashore; but there also he found himself unhappily way-laid. They fell on him with utmost fury, yet his courage continued until the last; for (as one of those that escaped has since reported) he rested himself on his other knee, and killed an Indian before they had power to slay him. Thus died that worthy young gentleman, for the cause of his country. He was one of liberal education and good extract, being the grandson of governor Winslow of Plymouth; and if he had survived, might have been of good service in his generation. Sylvanus Nock,† a worthy elder of the church at Oyster river, soon after this, was slain as he was on horseback. Myles Thompson of Berwick, was the same day also killed by another party, and his son was carried captive.‡ A few days after, they again

[* Josiah Winslow who graduated at Harvard College in 1721.]

[† *James* Nock, says Dr. Belknap.]

[‡ Thompson was killed in May, 1724. He lived on the road which leads from Quampeagan to Wells, at Love's Brook. One Stone was mangled and scalped near

beset Capt. Penhallow's garrison, where they took three as they were driving their cows to pasture, and at their drawing off killed a great many cattle. Another party fell on Kingston, where they took Peter Colcord, Ephraim Severns, and two of Mr. Stevens' children, whom they carried to Canada; but by the unwearied pains and expence of Mr. Stevens, he in a little time purchased his children.* Colcord about six months after, made his escape and got unto his friends, but did not survive long. May 24th, they shot George Chesley as he was returning from public worship, with whom was Elizabeth Burnum, who was mortally wounded. Three days after, they went to Perpooduck, where they killed one and wounded another, and then marched to Saco, where they slew David Hill, a friend Indian. On the same day, another party went to Chester, where they took Thomas Smith, with another whom they pinioned, but soon after, they made their escape.

The frontiers being thus alarmed, two companies of volunteers went from New-Hampshire on the bounty act, one hundred pounds a scalp, and it happened that Moses Davis, as he was weeding his corn, went unto a brook to drink, where he saw three Indian packs, upon which he informed the troops that were then coming out. He, with his son, went before as guides, but by an ambushment, were both shot dead. The English then fired on them, who killed one, and wounded two more, but

---

where Thompson fell by the same party, but he survived it, and lived to be an old man. Governor Sullivan, who knew him, says, "his life was miserable; he wore a silver caul on his head, went on crutches, had the use of only one hand, and was subject to strong convulsion fits." – *Sullivan's Maine, p.* 252.]

[* The late Samuel Welch, who died at Bow, 5 April, 1823, at the age of 112, recollected this event, and related to the writer of this note some of the particulars of it, about a month before his death. He stated that Peter Colcord, Ebenezer Stevens and Benjamin Severance, and two or three children of Mr. Stevens', were taken by the Indians; that Colcord made his escape, and that the children of Mr. Stevens were afterwards redeemed. He also recollected the family of Jabez Colman, who was killed in 1724, (mentioned by Penhallow under that year) and stated that Colman was shot with two balls, one passing through his neck, and the other through his hip.]

could not find either of the latter, although they tracked them by their blood some way. The assembly of New-Hampshire then sitting, ordered the aforesaid sum of one hundred pounds to be paid.

The next damage they did, was at Groton, but were so closely pursued, that they left several of their packs behind. About which time, news came to Deerfield of a body of Indians discovered up Connecticut river. Capt. Thomas Wells rallied a company of men, and went in quest of them, but made no further discovery, till, upon their return home, about four miles from Deerfield, three of the company (supposing themselves out of danger) rode at some distance before the rest, and unhappily fell into an ambushment of the enemy near a swamp, and were all three killed by them. But the company behind hearing the guns, rode up with all speed, and came upon the enemy while they were scalping the slain; and firing upon them, wounded several. Upon which the enemy fled into the swamp, and the English dismounting their horses, ran in after them, and tracked them a considerable way by the blood of the wounded, but found none. However, they recovered ten packs, and heard afterwards that two died of their wounds, and a third lost the use of his arm. Another company fell on Spurwink, where they mortally wounded Solomon Jordan, as he was coming out of the garrison. Next day, being July the 18th, Lieut. Bean went in quest of them, and came up with a scout of thirty, whom he engaged and put to flight, leaving twenty-five packs, twelve blankets, a gun, a hatchet, and sundry other things behind them.*

The enemy not finding so great encouragement in attacking our frontiers as they expected, were

[* Rev. Dr Holmes informs us, that in the copy of Penhallow in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, there is an advertisement at the end, desiring the reader to correct a great omission in page 105 [of this edition] viz. "In the article relating to Lieut. Bean and Company, at the bottom of the page, it should have been added, one of their principal Indians was killed, and his scalp brought to Boston, for which said Bean and company received an hundred pounds."]

now resolved to turn pirates, and accordingly intercepted several of our fishery as they went in and out the harbours for wood, water, or in case of storms, and accordingly made up a fleet of fifty canoes, who designed at first for Monhegen, but going through the Fox Islands, and seeing several vessels at anchor, surprized eight with little or no opposition; in which were forty men, twenty of whom they put to death, reserving the skippers and best sailors to navigate for them. After this, they took fourteen more; and with the assistance of the Cape Sable Indians, became so powerful and desperate, that at first they terrified all vessels that sailed along the eastern shore. They then went to St. Georges with a design to burn that garrison; in order whereto, they filled a couple of shallops with combustible matter, which they set on fire, but it was happily extinguished. They then offered terms on surrendering, which were rejected. And finding that neither force nor insinuation would prevail, they withdrew, and sailed to Annapolis, expecting to surprize the fort; but firing at a soldier in their march, gave an alarm; and a detachment issued forth, who, after a smart dispute, gave them a perfect rout, but not without loss on our side.*

The fishery being thus invaded, two shallops with about forty men well fixed, went from New-Hampshire, who fairly came up with one of them, but through cowardice and folly were afraid to engage them. However, Dr. Jackson from Kittery, and Sylvanus Lakeman from Ipswich, with a lesser number, gave them chase, and fired very smartly with their small arms, although the enemy had two great guns and four pateraroes, which cut their shrouds and hindered their pursuit for some time: but being fixed again, they followed them with greater resolution, and drove them into Penobscot,

[* June 27, 1724, Ebenezer Shelden, Thomas Cotton, and Jeremiah English (a friend Indian) were killed at Deerfield. July 10, Lieut. Timothy Childs and Samuel Allen, were wounded in returning from their labor in the field.—*Appendix to Williams' Narrative.*]

where a greater body being ready to cover them, he was forced to desist. The Doctor and Mr. Cutt were dangerously wounded in this engagement, but some time after, recovered. This storm of the enemy by sea, produced no calm ashore.

At Rutland, they killed three men, wounded one, and took another;* and at Oxford, beset a house that lay under a hill, but as one of the enemy attempted to break through the roof, he was shot by a woman of the house.† The sabbath now became a day of danger in which they often did mischief, as at Dover, Oyster river, and Berwick, where they killed one, wounded a second, and carried away a third.

Capt. Harmon, Moulton, Brown and Bean, were now preparing for Norridgewock, with two hundred men in seventeen whale-boats. After they landed at Triconnick, they met with Bomazeen at Brunswick, (who had slain an Englishman some days before) whom they shot in the river, as he attempted to make an escape. They afterwards killed his daughter, and took his wife captive; who gave an account of the state of the enemy, which encouraged them to march on briskly; and on August 12th, they got within two miles of the place. Capt. Harmon drew off with about sixty men to range their corn fields, in hopes of finding some there, imagining they saw some smokes; while Capt. Moulton, with about an hundred men moved forward, and when he came within view of the town, artfully divided them into three squadrons, of thirty in each; having ordered ten to guard their baggage, and a squadron on each wing to lie in ambush, while he with the like number encountered

[* This was on the 3d of August, 1724, and was the last mischief done at Rutland.]

[† The enemy, four in number, made a breach in the roof, and, as one of them was attempting to enter, he received a shot in his belly from a courageous woman, the only person in the house, but who had two muskets and two pistols charged, and was prepared for all four; but they thought fit to retreat, carrying off the dead or wounded man. This was on the 6th of August.]

them in the front. He went on with such resolution, that he got within pistol shot before he was discovered. The Indians were under amazing terror; yet in their surprize some of them snatched up their guns and fired: but their hands shook and they did no execution. They immediately betook themselves to flight, and in running fell on the very muzzles of our guns that lay in ambush. Our men pursued them so warmly, that several were slain on the spot; more got into their canoes, and others ran into the river; which was so rapid, and the falls in some places so great, that many of them were drowned. By this time Capt. Harmon came up, who was not so happy as to discover any of the enemy where he expected. The number of the dead which we scalped, were twenty-six, besides Monsieur Ralle the Jesuit, who was a bloody incendiary, and instrumental to most of the mischiefs that were done us, by preaching up the doctrine of meriting salvation by the destruction of hereticks.* Some say that quarter was offered him, which he refused, and would neither give nor take any. After this, they burnt and destroyed the chapel, canoes, and all the cottages that lay round; they also took four Indians alive, and recovered three captives.

The number in all that were killed and drowned were supposed to be eighty, but some say more; the greatest victory we have obtained in the three or four last wars; and it may be as noble an exploit (all things considered) as ever happened in the time of king Philip. About seventy French Mohawks were now making a descent on our frontiers, who divided into several parties and killed a great number of cattle. Some of them fell on the house of John Hanson of Dover, who being a stiff quaker, full of enthusiasm, and ridiculing the military pow-

[* There is a valuable memoir of Ralle in the Collections of Massachusetts Historical Society, Vol. VIII, p. 250, in which his character is more favourably represented than in the above account: it seems that the account in the text is not perfectly correct.]

er, would on no account be influenced to come into garrison; by which means his whole family (then at home) being eight in number, were all killed and taken. But some time after, his wife and two or three of his children, were redeemed with considerable pains and expense.

September 4th, they fell on Dunstable, and took two* in the evening: next morning, Lieut. French, with fourteen men, went in quest of them; but being way-laid, both he and one half of his company were destroyed. After that, as many more of a fresh company engaged them, but the enemy being much superior in number overpowered them, with the loss of one man and four wounded.

On the Monday after, they killed Jabez Coleman of Kingston, with his son, as they were gathering

---

[* The persons taken were Nathan Cross and Thomas Blanchard, who had been engaged in the manufacture of turpentine on the north side of Nashua river, near where Nashua village now stands. At that time, there were no houses or settlements on that side the river. These men had been in the habit of returning every night to lodge in a saw-mill on the other side. That night they came not as usual. An alarm was given; it was feared they had fallen into the hands of the Indians. A party consisting of ten of the principal inhabitants of the place started in search of them, under the direction of one French, a sergeant of militia. In this company was Farwell, who was afterwards lieutenant under Lovewell. When this party arrived at the spot where the men had been laboring, they found the hoops of the barrel cut, and the turpentine spread upon the ground. From certain marks upon the trees made with coal mixed with grease, they understood that the men were taken and carried off alive. In the course of the examination, Farwell perceived the turpentine had not ceased spreading, and called the attention of his comrades to this circumstance. They concluded that the Indians had been gone but a short time, and must still be near, and decided upon an instant pursuit. Farwell advised them to take a circuitous rout, to avoid an ambush. But unfortunately he and French had a short time previous had a misunderstanding, and were then at variance. French imputed this advice to cowardice, and called out, "I am going to take the direct path; if any of you are not afraid, let him follow me." French led the way and the whole party followed, Farwell falling in the rear. Their route was up the Merrimack, towards which they bent their course to look for their horses upon the interval. At the brook near Lutwyche's (now Thornton's) ferry, they were way-laid The Indians fired upon them, and killed the larger part instantly. A few fled, but were overtaken and destroyed. French was killed about a mile from the place of action, under an oak tree now standing in a field belonging to Mr. Lund in Merrimack. Farwell in the rear, seeing those before him fall, sprung behind a tree discharged his piece and ran. Two Indians pursued him: the chase was vigorously maintained for some time without gaining much advantage, till Farwell passing through a thicket, the Indians lost sight of him, and fearing he might have loaded again, they desisted. He was the only one of the company that escaped. A company from the neighborhood mustered upon the news of this disaster, proceeded to the fatal spot, took up the bodies of their friends and townsmen and interred them in the burying ground in Dunstable. Blanchard and Cross were carried to Canada: after remaining there some sime, they succeeded by their own exertions in effecting their redemption and returned to their native town, where their descendants are still living.—*Relation of Col. E. Bancroft, of Tyngsborough, Mass.*]

corn stalks. About the same time, Nathaniel Edwards of Northampton was killed: and the next day, the same company of Indians went to Westfield, and fell on several people as they were coming out of the meadows with their carts loaded, and wounding one man had certainly taken him, but some of our men bravely faced about, and attempted a shot upon them. But their guns all missing fire except Mr. Noah Ashley's, his went off and shot down one of the enemy, which put a stop to their further pursuit of the English. Hereupon a company rallied, and went after the enemy, and quickly found the Indian whom Ashley had slain. And taking his scalp, said Ashley brought it to Boston, and received one hundred pounds reward for it. And now a regiment of fresh men under the command of Col. Westbroook were preparing for Penobscot, one of their chief places of rendezvous for planting and fishing; but by the unskilfulness of his guides, were led into a labyrinth of difficulties, and after a long fatigue returned without any discovery.

Capt. Lovewell from Dunstable, with thirty volunteers, at the same time went northward, who marching several miles up the country, came on a wigwam wherein were two Indians, one of which they killed and the other took, for which they received the promised bounty of one hundred pounds a scalp, and two shillings and six pence a day besides.

Other companies were disposed to go out on the like encouragement, but did not see the track of an Indian; being under such amazing terror, by reason of their late overthrow at Norridgewock, that they deserted their former habitation; for when Capt. Heath went to Penobscot, he made no other discovery than a few empty wigwams.

The government (being thoroughly apprized of the perfidy of the French at Canada, in supplying the Indians with all necessary stores of war, not-

withstanding the peace at Utrecht, so firmly ratified between the two Crowns) sent Col. Thaxter and Col. Dudley from the Massachusetts, with Mr. Atkinson from New-Hampshire, as commissioners to represent the many grievances that arose thereby; as also to demand the several captives which they had of ours, and that hence-forward they would withdraw all manner of assistance from the enemy. For as they were Indians bordering between both governments, they belonged either to the dominion of Great Britain, or unto the French King; if to the French King, then consequently they were his subjects, and the encouraging or supplying them with warlike stores against the English, was a flagrant violation of the peace between the two Crowns; if they belonged to the King of Great Britain, then the exciting them to a war was as great a breach, and the stirring them up to rebellion, contrary unto their allegiance and submission in the year 1693, which was afterwards renewed in the year 1713, and 1717.

Our gentlemen in their journey to Quebeck, met the Governor at Montreal unto whom they delivered this message: upon which the Governor seemed to extenuate his supplying or countenancing them in any act of hostility; till they made it evident from letters under his hand unto Monsieur Ralle, the Jesuit and father confessor. But to palliate the matter, he replied, they were an independent nation, and that as the captives were out of his reach he would not engage therein. But as to those among the French, he would order them to be released upon paying the first cost they had given the Indians. This we were obliged to do, after an exorbitant manner; and in the whole, got but sixteen, with the promise of ten more. Notwithstanding this, he would often reflect on the English for invading the properties of the Indians, till our commissioners demonstrated that we possessed no more than what we purchased, and had formerly inhabit-

ed; and inasmuch as the boundaries between the two Crowns were firmly fixed, that all the Indians inhabiting this side L'Accadia, must of consequence belong to the Crown of Great Britain. After this, our gentlemen departed, acknowledging the kind entertainment which his Excellency had given them; who ordered a guard to attend them part of their way home.

But the difficulties and hazards that they met with in their journey, were great and terrible. It took them full four months. The lake they passed over was a hundred and fifty miles long and thirty wide, which was covered with water four inches on the surface of the ice. The first place they came to was Chamblee, where is a strong fortification, 200 foot square, and 30 foot high, with four bastions, in which are four tier of guns, one above another. From thence, they travelled to Montreal, which is an island of 30 miles long and 12 wide, lying in the middle of the river commonly called St. Lawrence's river; about 180 miles up from Quebeck, navigable for vessels of about 100 tons. This city (of Montreal) lies near the middle, walled round with stone and lime sixteen foot high and three thick, but no battery or fortification; in which are three churches, two chapels, two nunneries, and two streets of three quarters of a mile in length; containing about 400 houses. Their trade is mostly in furs, which they transport to Quebeck, and from thence to France.

Capt. Lovewell, who was endowed with a generous spirit and resolution of serving his country, and well acquainted with hunting the woods, raised a new company of volunteers, and marched some miles beyond their common head-quarters: on the easterly side of Winnepiseogee* ponds, he crossed an Indian track, and soon after espied two of them, whose motions he watched all the day, and at night

[* Winnepissocay, in copy.]

silently came upon them as they lay asleep round their fire. At his first firing, he killed seven, after that, two more, and wounded another, which was their whole company: who being within a day and a half's march of our frontiers, would probably have done mischief, had they not been so seasonably prevented. Their arms were so new and good, that most of them were sold for seven pounds apiece, and each of them had two blankets, with a great many spare moccasons, which were supposed for the supplying of captives that they expected to have taken. The plunder was but a few skins; but during the march, our men were well entertained with moose, bear, and deer, together with salmon-trout, some of which were three feet long, and weighed twelve pounds apiece.

April 13th, 1725, there came two Indians to Maquoit,* and took one Cockram, a soldier of about eighteen years of age, whom they carried thirty miles into the woods. The first night they pinioned him, but left him loose the second. He took an opportunity (as they were asleep) to knock them both on the head, scalped them and brought their scalps away with him, and their guns. But in his return, he was so unhappy as to lose a gun, and one of the scalps in fording a river. When he came to the garrison and gave an account of the whole affair, there went out a party the next morning, and found the Indians both dead according to the information that he had given. He was not only rewarded according to the act, but was advanced in his post, for his brave action, and for the encouragement of others.

On the Monday after, came another party to Yarmouth, where they slew William and Matthew Scales, which was a great weakening to that garrison, being very active and industrious men, and the principal supporters thereof.

[* Maquoit is a bay, which lies about 20 miles north of Cape Elizabeth.—*Sullivan, p.* 14.]

After this, they went to Cape Porpoise and waylaid Lieut. Trescott with some others, as they were passing along the road, whom they fired on, and wounded the said Trescott in several places.

A vessel from Canso, about this time arriving, brought an account of seventy Indians that fell on an out-house in view of the garrison, where they killed seven men, one woman and a child, and from thence went to Capt. Durell's Island, where they beset a fortified house in which were only four, who engaged them several hours; one of which was in a little time shot through a loop-hole, but the remaining three held out and defended themselves with such bravery, that the enemy was obliged to draw off with considerable loss.

Capt. Lovewell being still animated with an uncommon zeal of doing what service he could, made another attempt on Pigwacket with forty-four men; who in his going built a small fort near Ossipee, to to have recourse unto in case of danger, as also for the relief of any that might be sick or wounded; and having one of his men at this time sick, he left the doctor with eight men more to guard him: with the rest of his company, he proceeded in quest of the enemy, who on May the 8th, about ten in the morning, forty miles from said fort, near Saco pond, he saw an Indian on a point of land: upon which they immediately put off their blankets and knapsacks, and made towards him; concluding that the enemy were ahead and not in the rear. Yet they were not without some apprehensions of their being discovered two days before, and that the appearing of one Indian in so bold a manner, was on purpose to ensnare them. Wherefore, the Captain calling his men together, proposed whether it was best to engage them or not; who boldly replied, "that as they came out on purpose to meet the enemy, they would rather trust providence with their lives and die for their country, than return without seeing them." Upon this, they proceeded

and mortally wounded the Indian, who notwithstanding returned the fire, and wounded Captain Lovewell in the belly. Upon which Mr. Wyman fired and killed him. But their dismantling themselves at this juncture, proved an unhappy snare; for the enemy taking their baggage, knew their strength by the number of their packs, where they lay in ambush till they returned, and made the first shot; which our men answered with much bravery, and advancing within twice the length of their guns, slew nine. The encounter was smart and desperate, and the victory seemed to be in our favor, till Capt. Lovewell with several more were slain and wounded, to the number of twelve: upon which our men were forced to retreat unto a pond, between which and the enemy was a ridge of ground that proved a barrier unto us. The engagement continued ten hours, but although the shouts of the enemy were at first loud and terrible, yet after some time they became sensibly low and weak, and their appearance to lessen. Now whether it was through want of ammunition, or on the account of those that were slain and wounded, that the enemy retreated, certain it is, they first drew off and left the ground. And although many of our men were much enfeebled by reason of their wounds, yet none of the enemy pursued them in their return. Their number was uncertain, but by the advice which we afterwards received, they were seventy in the whole, whereof forty were said to be killed upon the spot, eighteen more died of their wounds, and that twelve only returned. An unhappy instance at this time fell out respecting one of our men, who when the fight began, was so dreadfully terrified, that he ran away unto the fort, telling those who were there, that Capt. Lovewell was killed with most of his men; which put them into so great a consternation, that they all drew off, leaving a bag of bread and pork behind, in case any of their company might return and be in distress.

The whole that we lost in the engagement were fifteen, besides those that were wounded. Eleazar Davis of Concord, was the last that got in, who first came to Berwick and then to Portsmouth, where he was carefully provided for, and had a skilful surgeon to attend him. The report he gave me was, that after Capt. Lovewell was killed, and Lieut. Farwell and Mr. Robbins wounded, that Ensign Wyman took upon him the command of the shattered company, who behaved himself with great prudence and courage, by animating the men and telling them, "that the day would yet be their own, if their spirits did not flag;" which enlivened them anew, and caused them to fire so briskly, that several discharged between twenty and thirty times apiece. He further added, that Lieut. Farwell, with Mr. Frye their chaplain, Josiah Jones, and himself, who were all wounded, marched towards the fort; but Jones steered another way, and after a long fatigue and hardship, got safe into Saco. Mr. Frye three days after, through the extremity of his wounds, began to faint and languish, and died. He was a very worthy and promising young gentleman, the bud of whose youth was but just opening into a flower.*

Mr. Jacob Fullam, who was an officer and an only son, distinguished himself with much bravery. One of the first that was killed was by his right hand; and when ready to encounter a second, it is said that he and his adversary fell at the very instant by each other's shot. Mr. Farwell held out in his return till the eleventh day; during which time he had nothing to eat but water and a few roots which he chewed; and by this time the wounds through his body were so mortified, that the worms made a thorough passage. The same day, this Davis caught a fish which he broiled, and was greatly refreshed therewith; but the Lieuten-

[*He was of Andover, and graduated at Harvard college in 1723.]

ant was so much spent, that he could not taste a bit. Davis being now alone, in a melancholy desolate state, still made toward the fort, and next day came to it, where he found some pork and bread, by which he was enabled to return as before mentioned.

Just as I had finished this account, I saw the historical memoirs of the ingenious Mr. Symmes,* wherein I find two things remarkable, which I had no account of before: one was of Lieut. Robbins, who being sensible of his dying state, desired one of the company to charge his gun and leave it with him, being persuaded that the Indians, by the morning, would come and scalp him, but was desirous of killing one more before he died. The other was of Solomon Kies, who being wounded in three places, lost so much blood as disabled him to stand any longer; but in the heat of the battle, calling to Mr. Wyman said, he was a dead man; however, said that if it was possible, he would endeavor to creep into some obscure hole, rather than be insulted by these bloody Indians: but by a strange providence, as he was creeping away, he saw a canoe in the pond, which he rolled himself into, and by a favorable wind (without any assistance of his own) was driven so many miles on, that he got safe unto the fort.

In 1 Sam. xxxi, 11, 12, 13, it is recorded to the immortal honor of the men of Jabesh Gilead, that when some of their renowned heroes fell by the hand of the Philistines, that they prepared a decent burial for their bodies.

Now so soon as the report came of Capt. Lovewell's defeat, about fifty men from New-Hampshire well equipped, marched untc Pigwacket for the like end, but were not so happy as to find them: but Col. Tyng, from Dunstable, with Capt. White

---

[* Rev. Thomas Symmes of Bradford, Mass., whose Memoir of Lovewell's Fight is published entire in the first volume of *Farmer & Moore's Collections.*]

who went afterwards, buried twelve; where at a little distance they found three Indians, among whom was Paugus, a vile and bloody wretch. Now the reason why no more of the enemy could be found, was because it is customary among them to conceal their dead, and bury them in some places of obscurity.

Give me leave here again to relate, (as I did before respecting Col. Hilton) that six or eight days before Capt. Lovewell was defeated, we had a current report several miles round of his being so, with little or no variation, both as to time and circumstances.

Our encountering the enemy at such a distance was so terrible and surprizing, that they never found any body after. And though our actions in this war can bear no comparison with those of our British forces, (which have caused the world to wonder) yet not to mention the bravery of these worthies, who died in the bed of honor, and for the interest of their country, would be a denying them the honor that is due unto their memory, and a burying them in oblivion.*

> The mourning drum, the lance and ensigns trail,
> The robes of honor all in sable veil.

Mr. Wyman, who distinguished himself in such a signal manner, was, at his return, presented with a silver hilted sword, and a captain's commission. Edward Lingfield was also made an ensign, and the general assembly (to shew a grateful acknowledgment to the soldiers, and a compassionate sym-

---

[*This was one of the most fierce and obstinate battles which had been fought with the Indians. They had not only the advantage of numbers, but of placing themselves in ambush, and waiting with deliberation the moment of attack. These circumstances gave them a degree of ardor and impetuosity. Lovewell and his men, though disappointed of meeting the enemy in their front, expected and determined to fight. The fall of their commander and more than one quarter of their number, in the first onset, was greatly discouraging; but they knew the situation to which they were reduced, and their distance from the frontiers, cut off all hope of safety by flight. In these circumstances, prudence as well as valor, dictated a continuance of the engagement, and a refusal to surrender; until the enemy, awed by their brave resistance, and weakened by their own loss, yielded them the honor of the field. After this encounter, the Indians resided no more at Pigwacket, till the peace.—2 *Belknap, p.* 69, 70.]

pathy unto the widows and orphans,) ordered the sum of fifteen hundred pounds to be given them, under a certain regulation. And for a further encouragement of volunteers, ordered four shillings a day out of the public to be paid every one that would enlist, besides the bounty of one hundred pounds a scalp. Upon which a great many brave men, under the command of Capt. White, Capt. Wyman, and others, went out, but the extremity of the heat prevented their marching far. Many of them sickened of the bloody flux, and some died after their return; particularly, Capt. White and Capt. Wyman, whose deaths were very much lamented.

Saquarexis, and Nebine, one a hostage, and the other a prisoner belonging to the English, being desirous of visiting their old acquaintance, had liberty granted them on their parole; who after some time returned and gave an account, that the Indians were generally disposed to a peace, for that the losses they met with, and the daily terror they were under, made their lives miserable. After this, they went out again, and meeting with several others, they represented their ready desires of having a treaty of pacification with the English. Upon which Col. Walton,* from New-Hampshire, Col. Stoddard and Mr. Wainwright, from the Massachusetts, were appointed commissioners to go unto St. George's, to hear and report what they had to offer. They arrived there, July the second, and sent the said two Indians with a letter unto their chiefs, letting them know that they were come; who in six days after, appeared under a flag of truce.

Capt. Bean, the interpreter, was sent to meet them. They brought a letter from Winnenimmit their chief Sagamore, which was wrote in French. The import of which was, to congratulate the gentlemen's arrival on a design of peace, which they

[* Col. Walton lived at Somersworth. He was dismissed from service, and was succeeded by Col. Thomas Westbrook.]

earnestly desired to treat about, provided they might do it safely; being under some fear and jealousy. And indeed they had cause of being so, for that about ten days before under a flag of truce, some of the English treacherously attempted to lay violent hands upon them, but lost one in the skirmish, and had another wounded, which was the occasion of the like unhappy disaster that afterwards happened unto Capt. Saunders, in Penobscot Bay. They then moved, that inasmuch as many of their men were scattered, (being out a hunting) that our gentlemen would stay a little, which they consented to. And five days after, seven came in under a flag of truce, making the usual signal; and informing the commissioners they would wait on them to-morrow; who after a friendly entertainment were dismissed. The next day, their whole body came within a quarter of a mile of the garrison, desiring the English to come to them; which they refused, saying, that they were sent from the several governments to hear what they had to offer; but assured them that if they came to them, no injury should be offered. After a short consultation they complied, provided that the English would engage it in the name of God. And then they sent in thirteen of their chiefs, expecting the like number of English to be sent them. So soon as they met, the commissioners demanded what they had to offer, who complimented them with the great satisfaction they had in seeing them in so peaceable a disposition, and that it was also the intent and desire of their hearts. It was then asked wherefore they made war upon the English? who replied, because of their encroachments upon their lands so far westward as Cape Nawagen, where two of their men, as they said, were beaten to death. Unto which it was answered, that that very land was bought by the English, and that the deeds from their predecessors were ready to be shewn; and admitting it was true what they said, that the Eng-

lish did so inhumanly beat two of their Indians, yet it was not justifiable in them (according to the articles of peace) to commence a war at once, without first making application to the government, who at all times were ready to do them justice.

This conference being over, they proposed a further treaty, which after some debate, was resolved to be at Boston. They then moved for a cessation of arms, but our commissioners, having no power, replied, that if they went to Boston, it might probably be granted. But in the mean time moved that each party should be on their guard, for that it was the custom of nations to carry on the war on both sides till matters were fully concluded. The Indians replied that as they desired peace, they were resolved in calling in their young men, promising for themselves and those also of their tribe, that no hostility should be formed against us.

The treaty being over, Capt. Loran and Ahanquid, who were two of their chiefs, accompanied our gentlemen to Boston, where they were friendly entertained, and after a capitulation of matters, returned in a vessel prepared on purpose, with a promise of bringing more of their chiefs with them in forty days after their arrival, for a final issue of all differences.

Several constructions and censures were passed on this treaty; some thinking the English were more forward for a peace than the Indians, and that as we now knew their head quarters, might easily destroy their corn, and disrest them in their fishery, which would bring them to a ready composition. Although the Penobscot Indians seemed guarantee for the other tribes, yet as we knew them treacherous, we could put no confidence in them, but rather lay ourselves open unto a snare, and become the more secure! Something like this accordingly fell out; for on September 15th, a party of them fell on some of Cochecho while at work in

the field, where they slew one, scalped another, cut off the head of a third, and carried a fourth captive; all which belonged to the family of the Evans'.*

A few days after, another party attacked a garrison at North Yarmouth, but were so stoutly repulsed that they made no impression; but at their drawing off, killed several cattle. Two days after, some appeared at Mowsum, and then at Damaris Cove, which lies eastward of Kennebeck, and is two leagues within the line agreed upon; where they took and burnt two shallops which belonged to Stephen Humuel and Alexander Soaper, who with five men and a boy, they carried to the Winniganse, and knocked him on the head. Some conjectured these Indians came from Canada; others, that they belonged to the eastward, for that an English jacket was afterwards seen on one of them; but the eastern Indians laid it on the other.

At the same time the English had several companies out at Ameriscoggin, Rockamagug, Norridgwock, &c.; where Col. Harmon and others went, but made no discovery. Some thought that we hereby infringed on the articles made between them and us, unto which it may be replied, that these places were not within the Penobscot line; and although they promised to do what they could in restraining others from falling on the English,

[* The Indians had come down to Cochecho, with a design to take the family of Hanson again. When they had come near the house, they observed some people at work in a neighboring field, by which it was necessary for them to pass, both in going and returning. This obliged them to alter their purpose, and conceal themselves in a barn, till they were ready to attack them. Two women passed by the barn while they were in it, and had just reached the garrison as the guns were fired. They shot Benjamin Evans dead on the spot; wounded William Evans and cut his throat. John Evans received a slight wound in the breast, which bleeding plentifully, deceived them, and thinking him dead, they stripped and scalped him. He bore the painful operation without discovering any signs of life, though all the time in his perfect senses, and continued in the feigned appearance of death, till they had turned him over, and struck him several blows with their guns, and left him for dead. After they were gone off, he rose and walked, naked and bloody, towards the garrison; but on meeting his friends by the way, dropped, fainting on the ground, and being covered with a blanket, was conveyed to the house. He recovered and lived fifty years. A pursuit was made after the enemy, but they got off undiscovered, carrying with them Benjamin Evans, Jr. a lad of 13, to Canada, whence he was afterwards redeemed.—2 *Belknap*, 80.]

yet as several scouts from other places were then out, they could not absolutely engage for them; wherefore it was now requisite for us to secure our frontiers.*

About the 28th September, 1725, Capt. Dwight of fort Dummer, sent out a scout of six men, west, who being upon their return sat down to refresh themselves; and hearing a noise like running, looked up, and saw fourteen Indians just upon them. Our men fired at the enemy, but were soon overpowered by the Indians, who killed two, took three, and one escaped.

The forty days beforementioned, for coming in of the Penobscot Indians, with those of the other tribes, being nearly twice expired, gave great uneasiness for fear of some mischief that was designed. But in the beginning of November, the several Captains hereafter mentioned came in, viz., Sauguaaram, alias Sorun, Arexus, Francois Xavier, Meganumba, where the following submission and agreement was concluded on.

The submission and agreement of the delegates of the eastern Indians.

WHEREAS the several tribes of eastern Indians, viz., the Penobscot, Norridgwock, St. John's, Cape Sables, and other tribes inhabiting within his Majesty's territories of New-England and Nova-Scotia, who have been engaged in the present war, from whom we *Sauguaaram*, alias *Sorun*, *Arexus*, *Francois-Xavier and Meganumba*, are delegated and fully empowered to enter into articles of paci-

---

[* August 25, 1725, deacon Field, deacon Childs, and others, were going up to Green river farms, and were ambushed by the Indians, but they discovered the Indians, and John Wells discharged his gun at an Indian, who fell; the Indians fired at them, and wounded deacon Samuel Field, the ball passing through the right hypocondria, cutting off three plaits of the mysenteria, which hung out of the wound, in length almost two inches, which was cut off even with the body, the bullet passing between the lowest and the next rib, cutting, at its going forth, the lowest rib: his hand being close to the body when the ball came forth, it entered at the root of the heel of the thumb, cutting the bone of the fore finger, and, resting between the fore and second finger, was cut out, and all the wounds were cured in less than five weeks, by doctor Thomas Hastings.—*App. to Williams' Narrative, p.* 112.]

fication with his Majesty's governments of the Massachusetts Bay, New-Hampshire and Nova-Scotia; have, contrary to the several treaties they have solemnly entered into with the said governments, made an open rupture, and have continued some years in acts of hostility against the subjects of his Majesty King George, within the said governments; they being now sensible of the miseries and troubles they have involved themselves in, and being desirous to be restored to his Majesty's grace and favor, and to live in peace with all his Majesty's subjects of the said three governments and the province of New-York and colonies of Connecticut and Rhode-Island, and that all former acts of injury be forgotten: have concluded to make, and we do by these presents in the name and behalf of the said tribes, make our submission unto his most excellent Majesty George, by the grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c., in as full and ample manner as any of our predecessors have heretofore done.

And we do hereby promise and engage with the Hon. William Dummer, Esq. as he is Lieut. Governor and commander-in-chief, of his majesty's province of the Massachusetts Bay, and with the governors or commanders-in-chief of the said province, for the time being: that is to say—

We, the said delegates, for, and in behalf of the several tribes aforesaid, do promise and engage—That at all times, forever, from and after the date of these presents, we and they will cease and forbear all acts of hostility, injuries and discord, towards all the subjects of the crown of Great Britain, and not offer the least hurt, violence or molestation to them or any of them in their persons or estates, but will henceforward hold and maintain a firm and constant amity and friendship with all the English, and will never confederate or combine with any other nation to their prejudice.

That all the captives taken in this present war

shall, at or before the time of the further ratification of this treaty, be restored, without any ransom or payment to be made for them or any of them.

That his Majesty's subjects the English, shall and may peaceably and quietly, enter upon, improve and forever enjoy all and singular their rights of land and former settlements, properties and possessions, within the eastern parts of the said province of the Massachusetts Bay; together with all islands, inlets, shores, beaches and fishery within the same, without any molestation or claims by us or any other Indians, and be in no ways molested, interrupted, or disturbed therein.

Saving unto the Penobscot, Norridgwock, and other tribes within his Majesty's province aforesaid, and their natural descendants respectively, all their lands, liberties and properties not by them conveyed or sold to or possessed by any of the English subjects as aforesaid; as also the privilege of fishing, hunting and fowling, as formerly.

That all trade and commerce which may hereafter be allowed betwixt the English and the Indians, shall be under such management and regulation, as the government of the Massachusetts province shall direct.

If any controversy or difference at any time hereafter happen to arise between any of the English and Indians, for any real or supposed wrong or injury done on either side, no private revenge shall be taken for the same, but proper application shall be made to his Majesty's government, upon the place for remedy or redress thereof, in a due course of justice. We submitting ourselves to be ruled and governed by his Majesty's laws, and desiring to have the benefit of the same.

We also, the said delegates, in behalf of the tribes of Indians inhabiting within the French territories, (who have assisted us in this war) for whom we are fully empowered to act in this present treaty, do hereby promise and engage, that they and every of

them shall henceforth cease and forbear all acts of hostility, force and violence, towards all and every, the subjects of his Majesty the King of Great Britain.

We do further in the behalf of the Penobscot Indians promise and engage, that if any of the other tribes intended to be included in this treaty, shall notwithstanding, refuse to confirm and ratify this present treaty entered into on their behalf, and continue or renew acts of hostility against the English, in such case, the said Penobscot tribe, shall join their young men with the English in reducing them to reason.

In the next place, we the afore-named delegates do promise and engage with the Honorable John Wentworth, Esq., as he is Lieut. Governor and commander in chief of his Majesty's province of New-Hampshire, and with the governors and commanders in chief of the said province for the time being, that we and the tribes we are deputed from, will henceforth cease and forbear all acts of hostility, injuries and discords, towards all the subjects of his Majesty King George, within the said province; and we do understand and take it, that the said government of New-Hampshire, is also included and comprehended in all and every of the articles aforegoing, excepting that article respecting the regulating the trade with us.

And further, we the aforenamed delegates do promise and engage with the Hon. Lawrence Armstrong, Esq., Lieut. governor and commander in chief of his Majesty's province of Nova-Scotia or Accadia, to live in peace with his Majesty's good subjects and their dependents in that government, according to the articles agreed on with Major Paul Mascarene, commissioned for that purpose; and further to be ratified as mentioned in the said articles.

That this present treaty shall be accepted, ratified and confirmed, in a public and solemn manner,

by the chiefs of the several eastern tribes of Indians included therein at Falmouth in Casco Bay, some time in the month of May next. In testimony whereof, we have signed these presents, and affixed our seals.

Dated at the Council Chamber in Boston in New-England, this fifteenth day of December, Anno Domini, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-five. Anno Regni Regis Georgii Magnæ Britanniæ, &c., Duodecimo.

Sauguaaram alias *Loron.*

Arexus

Francois *Xavier.*

Meganumba

A true copy taken from the original, executed by the Indian delegates before the General assembly, December 15, 1725.

Attest, *J. Willard*, Secr.

Thus we have seen the events of twenty-three years, in most of which we have heard nothing but the "sound of the trumpet, and the alarm of war." And in the time of the intervening peace, we met with many interruptions and acts of hostility, which prevented the growth of our eastern settlements.

It is surprizing to think that so small a number of Indians should be able to distress a country so

large and populous, to the degree we have related. The charge of the war in the last three years, was no less than one hundred and seventy thousand pounds; besides the constant charge of watching, warding, scouting, making and repairing of garrisons, &c., which may modestly be computed at upwards of seventy thousand pounds more. Yet after all, the enemy have but little cause of triumph; for that one third of them (at least) have been destroyed, and one of their tribes so shattered (at Norridgwock) that they are never more likely to make any formidable head.

Now, as peace seems once more to be concluded by the treaty before mentioned, the greatest difficulty will be to support and maintain it. If trading houses, which are now resolved on, (by the wisdom of the government) be well regulated, it may (under God) be a means of our tranquillity: especially if the government can also prevail with them to receive the ministry for their instruction in the principles of the true religion.

But although it was agreed on with the several delegates that the treaty should be ratified and confirmed in a public and solemn manner by the chiefs of the several tribes of the eastern Indians at Falmouth in Casco Bay, some time in the month of May; yet when that time came they were not ready for it, but seemed for some time uncertain and dilatory. Nevertheless the government from time to time received advices of their continued desires of peace; and resolving that the failure should not be on our part, his honor, the Lieutenant Governor, with a quorum of his Majesty's council, and a number of gentlemen from the house of representatives, attended with a good guard, and a fine train of young gentlemen, set out from Boston, on July 14, and arrived at Falmouth the 16th.

On the 21st, his Honor received a letter from Wenemovet, Sagamore and chief Sachem of the Penobscot tribe, dated at St. George's July 19th,

praying him to meet the Indians at Pemaquid; which his honour absolutely refused, requiring him to come to Casco, and promising him safe conduct.

On the 29th, Wenemovet arrived, with a number of his principal men and others, about forty, and on the thirtieth the conference for the ratification of the late Treaty was entered on; and on the sixth of August it was concluded.

The Penobscot tribe only appeared, but in behalf of all the other tribes. The Canada tribes had been sent to by them, and had sent a letter (as they said) with two wampum belts; the one for their brethren of Penobscot, in token I suppose of their being concluded by them in the present treaty, the other to be presented to our Governor upon the ratification of the treaty; which was accordingly presented.

The Lieut. Governor demanded of them, why the Norridgwocks were not there? Wenemovet answered, that they had full power to act for them and for the Wowenocks and the Arreguntenocks, and the St. Francois.

The governments had many and large conferences with the Indians; worthy to be communicated to the publick, and which would be an entertainment to the curious. In these conferences the discretion and prudence of the salvages was observable as well as the wisdom, justice, equity and tenderness of the governors on our part.

One of the first things that the Indians desired of our governors was, that they would give order that the vessels in the harbor as well as the taverns ashore might be restrained from selling any liquors to their young men. The governor told them, that he very much approved of that, and would give order accordingly.

On Saturday July 30th, when the conference for the day was over, the Lieut. Governor told them, "to-morrow is the Lord's-Day, on which we do no business." Loron, their speaker, answered readily,

"to-morrow is our Sabbath Day ; we also keep the Day."

It may be a pleasure to the reader to have the words of the ratification of the treaty, both on our part and also on the part of the Indians.

On the Indians' part, it ran in the following words.

We the underwritten Wenemovet, chief Sachem and Sagamore of the Penobscot tribe, and other the chiefs with the rest of the said tribe now convented, having had the within articles of Peace distinctly and deliberately read over and interpreted to us: do by these presents in a publick and solemn manner, as well for ourselves as for all the within mentioned tribes, from whom we are delegated and fully impowered, ratify, affirm and confirm all and singular the within articles of Peace, to His most Sacred Majesty King George ; and that the same and each of them be, and shall continue and remain in full force, efficacy and power, to all intents and purposes whatsoever.

Done and concluded at Falmouth in Casco Bay before his Honour William Dummer, Esq. Lieut. governor and commander in chief of His Majesty's province of the Massachusetts Bay in New-England, and his Majesty's council of said province, the Hon. John Wentworth Esq. Lieut. governor of his Majesty's province of New-Hampshire, and several of his Majesty's council of said province, and Major Paul Mascarene, delegated from his Majesty's province of Nova Scotia, or L' Accadia ; and the several gentlemen that subscribe hereto.

Witness our hands and seals, the fifth day of August, in the thirteenth year of the reign of our sovereign lord George, by the grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, defender of the faith, &c. annoq. dom. 1726.

On our part, the ratification of the treaty ran thus.

By the Honourable William Dummer, Esq. Lieut. governor and commander in chief of his Majesty's province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England.

Whereas Wenemovet, the chief sachem of Penobscot, with others his chiefs and the rest of said tribe, convented at Casco bay the 5th day of August, 1726, having solemnly and publickly ratified the treaty of submission, made at Boston the 15th day of December last, and delivered the same to me, which I have according accepted.

I do hereby ratify and confirm all the articles in the within mentioned instrument.

Given under my hand and seal at arms, at Falmouth, in Casco bay, the sixth day of August, in the thirteenth year of the reign of our sovereign lord King George, by the grace of God of Great Britain, &c. annoq. dom. 1726.

WILLIAM DUMMER.

By the command of his honour
the Lieut. governor,
John Wainwright,
Clerk of the Council.

After the ratification was over, the Lieut. governor among other things, desired them to say, what measures they propos'd to take, whereby the inhabitants on our frontiers may be made easy and safe, notwithstanding the Norridgwocks, &c. who did not personally appear to ratify the articles of the present treaty?

They answered, that they would have the inhabitants of the frontiers to be very careful, and that as soon as they return'd home it should be their first care to send to all the tribes, and let them know that there is a peace made.

The Lieut. governor ask'd them, will you lay your commands and injunctions on the other tribes for that purpose, as far as you are able? Loron answered, we will do our utmost to oblige 'em to live peaceably towards us.

The Lieut. governor replied, do you say you will resent it, if any hostile acts or injuries should be committed against our people?

Loron. We will resent such actions, and join our young men with yours in such a case, and oblige them to be quiet and sit down. We mean, in case any of the tribes should rise against us, or resist us, we will take effectual means to set them down by force. As to the first treaty we reckoned ourselves obliged to this, but we account we are under much more and stronger obligations to it now; since the engagements our whole tribe have taken upon them, in ratifying the articles of the treaty. We shall take effectual care therefore that any such persons be obliged to sit down.

We have given our words, and repeated our promises and engagements; and our words are written down, and they will appear afterwards against us.

When the whole conference was transcribed, it was on August 11, (may the day be memorable and happy to us and ours after us) distinctly read over and interpreted to Wenemovet and the Indians with him; and the Lieut. governor asked them if they understood it, and whether it was rightly taken down? They answered, that the conference was rightly taken down, and not a word missing in it.

His honour then for their more full satisfaction subscribed his name to it, and then delivered it to Wenemovet, chief sachem, who with his principal men subscribed to it, and delivered it back to his honour.

And thus we hope by the will of God, that a happy foundation is laid for a lasting peace. And we cannot conclude without a thankful acknowledgment of the great favour and mercy of God to us, in the wise conduct given unto his honour the Lieut. governor, both in the management of the war, and also of the treaty of peace. May the comforts and rewards of a faithful administration remain to him for ever; and the happy fruits of peace unto these provinces. FINIS.

The following note prepared for page 48, was omitted in its proper place. As it corrects several mistakes in the text, it is here inserted. The garrison where the "twenty troopers" were posted, was Wells'; see first Note, page 49.

[They had been ranging the woods in the vicinity, and came towards night to this garrison; apprehending no danger, turned their horses loose upon the interval, piled their arms and harness in the house, and began a carousal, to exhilarate their spirits after the fatigues of the day. A party of Indians had lately arrived in the vicinity, and on that day had designed to attack both Wells' and Galusha's garrisons. One of their number had been stationed to watch each of these houses, to see that no assistance approached, and no alarm was given. A short time previous to the approach of the cavalry, the Indian stationed at Wells' had retired to his party, and reported that all was safe. At sunset, a Mr. Cumings and his wife went out to milk their cows, and left the gate open. The Indians, who had advanced undiscovered, started up, shot Mrs. Cumings dead upon the spot, and wounded her husband. They then rushed through the open gate into the house, with all the horrid yells of conquering savages, but stared with amazement on finding the room filled with soldiers merrily feasting. Both parties were completely amazed, and neither acted with much propriety. The soldiers, so suddenly interrupted in their jovial entertainment, found themselves called to fight, when entirely destitute of arms, and incapable of obtaining them. The greater part were panic-struck, and unable to fight or fly. Fortunately, all were not in this sad condition: some six or seven courageous souls, with chairs, clubs, and whatever they could seize upon, furiously attacked the advancing foe. The Indians who were as much surprised as the soldiers, had but little more courage than they, and immediately took to their heels for safety; thus yielding the house, defeated by one quarter their number of unarmed men. The trumpeter, who was in the upper part of the house at the commencement of the attack, seized his trumpet and began sounding an alarm, when he was shot dead by an Indian on the stair-way. He was the only one of the party killed.

The savages, disappointed in this part of their plan, immediately proceeded to Galusha's, two miles distant; took possession of, and burnt it. One woman only escaped. Had the company at Wells', armed and immediately pursued, they might probably have prevented this disaster; but they spent so much time in arming and getting their horses that the enemy had an opportunity to perpetrate the mischief and escape uninjured.

The woman above mentioned, when the Indians attacked the house, sought refuge in the cellar, and concealed herself under a dry cask. After hastily plundering the house, and murdering, as they supposed, all who were in it, the Indians set it on fire and immediately retired. The woman in this critical situation, attempted to escape by the window, but found it too small: she however succeeded in loosening the stones till she had opened a hole sufficient to admit of her passage, and with the house in flames over her head, she forced herself out, and crawled into the bushes, not daring to rise for fear she should be discovered. In the bushes she lay concealed until the next day, when she reached one of the neighboring garrisons.

Cumings, at Wells' garrison, had his arm broken, but was so fortunate as to reach the woods while the Indians were engaged in the house. That night he lay in a swamp in the northerly part of what at present constitutes the town of Tyngsborough, about one quarter of a mile west of the great road as it now runs, and a few rods south of the state line. The next day he arrived at the garrison near the residence of the late Col. Tyng.—*Farmer & Moore's Collections, vol. II. pp.* 303, 304.]

Copy of a Letter from the Hon. Samuel Penhallow. to Dr. Cotton Mather.

Portsmouth, Feb. 27, 1698-9,

Monsieur *Vincelotte*, of *Quebeck*, arrived here the 25th of the last month, and since embarked for *France* by way of *Bilboa*, as agent to represent the affairs of *Canada*.

He says, that about nine or ten years since, the earl of *Frontenac*, Governor of that place, who died last *November*, did personally attempt to subdue the *Maqua's*, *&c.* having no less than *fifteen hundred* soldiers in his army.

After a few days march they (being much *wearied*, and very *thirsty*) came unto a certain small *well* of which they drank very plentifully. But in a few hours after sundry complained of much *illness*, and according to their *various constitutions* fell sick (as it seem'd) of different distempers; which occasioned so great disorder and confusion in the army, that no less than four well men, for a while, were engaged in taking care of every *one* that was sick. About three days after, the *Maqua* scout narrowly observing the motions of the *French*, rallied together as many as possible, to give a check unto their undertaking; which they soon accomplished with very considerable advantage. But the *French* appearing so numerous forced them to retreat, and in pursuit of them took and ransackt a small town.

The sickness by this time increased unto so great an height, as to occasion a *council of war*, which ordered their speedy return; and in a short time, no less than *eight hundred* persons died out of the army.

Now about three years ago a certain soldier, who belonged at that time to the army, went into *France*. In a short time after his arrival, he *robbed* one of the churches of a considerable value of plate; but being soon discovered he was sentenced to be burnt: He then sent unto sundry *father confessors*, unto whom he acknowledged his *many sins*; particularly the fact for which he was condemned. But he therewithal said, that he had something else of more considerable moment to impart, which did much afflict his conscience; namely, an action of his about seven years before committed, when listed under the conduct of the earl of *Frontenac*, in an enterprize against the *Sen-*

nakers and *Maqua's*; (for said he) *I was the only person at that time instrumental to the death of near eight hundred souls. Having received some affront from some of the officers, I was prompted to seek some speedy revenge, which my own corrupt nature, with the instigation of satan, did instantly accomplish, for being plentifully stored with some rank poison upon another account, I threw it all into a well, of which the thirsty army drank freely, and in the event it proved so fatal unto them.*

For the further confirmation of this report, Monsieur *Vincelotte* at the same time told me, that he was himself wounded in the engagement, and should continue lame to his dying day.

Reverend Sir, your most humble servant,

S. Pennallow.

Copy of a letter from Nathaniel Weare, Esq., to Major Robert Pike, one of the assistants of Massachusetts Colony.

[Major Pike belonged to Salisbury, Mass. He was chosen an assistant in 1683. Nathaniel Weare belonged to Hampton. He was appointed agent for the Province of New-Hampshire in the time of Cranfield, and sailed for England in 1683. He was ancestor of President Meshech Weare.]

Major Pike,

Honoured Sir,

The many revolutions and chainges that *has* happened abroad *is* very wonderfull and almost amazinge: Besides, what has hapned amonge and upon ourselves is very awfull, and thinges loke very darke, the consideration thereof is so oppressive, that [I] cannot but seke for some ease, and I know no beter way (as to man) then to communicat some things to your honour, from whose prudent direction, I may receive mutch sasiffaction, and shall therefore crave the boldness to ofer a few lynes to your consideration not to medell with thynges further off. I shall, as brief as I may, ofer you what

has happned in this prouince of New-Hampshire, and more pertiquerly in the towne of Hampton. Sir, it is no new thynge to tell you how that him that was both gouernor in your collony and also in our prouince was seazed and the occashon thereof, whereupon, wee had only the Justices and Inferiouer oficers left, the superior commanders being layd aside, that great questions arose whether Justeces retayned theire power, or any Captain, or other oficer, derivinge his authorety from him so seazesed. My opinion I shall altogether wave in that mater: But so it was that it was for the most part concluded of, that we had no gouerners nor authority in this prouince, so as to answer the ends of gouernment, and to command and doe in the defence of theire majestys subjects against the comon enemy, therefore many asayes was maid in this provance to make some gouernment till theire majestys should take further order, but all proued ineffectuall. At first there was in the seuerall Towns in the Prouince persons chosen to manage the affairs of Gouernment in this juncture of time, but that was for some reasons laid aside, afterward there was in the town of Hampton 3 persons chosen in the towne of Hampton to meet with the Comiss: [Commissioners] of the other towns, if they see cause to apoint any to debate and conclude of what was necessary at this time to be done in relation to some orderly way of Gouernment, and to make their returne to the seuerall Towns for approbation or otherwise. But the inhabitants of Portsmouth met and made choice of some persons* to meet with the Commissioners of the other Towns to Debate and consider of what was to be done in order to the settlement of some Gouernment, till their Majestys should give order in the matter. What they did, they ingaged them-

[* The persons chosen for Portsmouth, were Major William Vaughan, Richard Waldron, Nathaniel Fryer, Robert Eliot, Thomas Cobbett and Capt. John Pickering.]

selves certainly to comply with. The inhabitants of the town of Hampton, began to be very jealous of their friends and neighbours, that they would bring them under seuerall inconveniences in comanding from them their men, and mony as they pleased, and so were very hard to be brought to any thing; but after seuerall meetings and debates, did chose 6 persons as Comissioners, with power according to the other towns, (viz.) Portsmouth, Dover and Exeter, and after debats, jointly and fully, euery man then present agreed to such a method as was then drawne up. Then the seuerall towns was to nominate and chose meet persons for the end aforesaid; but whereas the Inhabitance of the towne of Hampton meet on warning for that end, the major part by far of the said towne semed to bee ferful and suspicious of theyer neighbour townes [that] they did not intend to doe as was pretended, but to bring them under to theyer disadvantage, which I thought was very ill so to think, yet they would give som instance of som former acts don, which notwithstanding, I seposed they were too uncharitable.

And so they made a voat they would not chose any person according to the direction of the Committee meet, and so all proued inefectuall. After some time, the apprehention of the necessity of some orderly way of gouerment and therby to be in the beter method to defend themselves against the comon enemy, semed to inforse them to another asay for the obtayning thereof, and so the inhabitance of Portsmouth, drew up and signed, so many as did, a pettition, as I am informed, (for I never saw it,) to the honorable the gouernor and councill of the Matathusetts Collony to take this prouince into theire care and protection, and gouernment as formerly; and so the other townes, Dover and Exeter, complyed with it, how generally I know not, and so brought to Hampton on Wensday, the 26th of February last part, when the soldiers were there

warned to appeare for consernes specified in said order, but no intemation given for the end of signinge to the petition, so that seuerall children and servants made up the number of names, when theyer parrants and masters, its said, did know nothinge of the maters, and I doubt too true. It was quickly after by William Vaughan, Esq. and Capt. John Pickeringe brought into the prouince, declareing to bee excepted [accepted] by the said gouernor and councell, with orders given forth to meet on such a day for chusinge of selectmen and constables and other towne oficers, according to former usage and custom as appears by order given to Justice Greene bearinge date the 4th of March, 1689–90. Coppes I sepose your selfe have. What was done on that day, I need not tell. Yourselfe knows very well. But this I shall insert—that chusinge of major, treasurer, and recorder was not accordinge to former usage and custom. It was prest by some to have it voated whether they would in this towne of Hampton acquies and comply with the pettition and the returne, or words to that efect, which yourselfe was pleased to say all would bee knoct on the head at one blow. Now how comfortable it will bee for about 50 persons to prescribe the method and way of gouernment for about 200, I shall leave to your honour to consider. For my owne part, its well knowne, I am for gouernment, and so are severall others whose names are not to the pettition and hath a great esteme of, and good will to, the Matathusetts gouernment and to those worthy persons that doth administer the same. And with very littell alteration, I doubt not but many more would have, if they might have their hands to the pettition; but to have hands in the several towns to the same pettition to bee under the gouernment of the Mattathusetts collony as formerly, when we are so differently sarcomstanced as som of us know wee have been, is hard; to draw such a pettition, and when such a pettition is draune, subscribed as

it is and excepted [accepted] of, for the subscribers to act contrary to the same is very strange. Formerly, not to medell with the custom and usage of the gentlemen of Pascataway, wee, at Hampton, had the choice of our magistrats and publike ofi-cers, as yourselfe knows; And how the assistance or magistrats at Portsmouth can grant any warrants or exersise the administration of gouernment over Hampton that never chose them, I know not; so that upon the whole the gouernment of the Matathusetts cannot, I suppose, exersise nor apoint any gouernors over us till they have authority so to doe from the crowne of England, or wee, or the major part in the seuerall towns doe pray for it, which at present is not in Hampton as it plainly appears: So that to bee subjected to a gouernment in the prouince and principally at Portsmouth, which have bin so much spoken against by so meny in Hampton will be very teadious to them: And the chusinge of milletery oficers as hath bin, to give all due respects to thare persons, I shall not say of excedentell quallefications so well knowne to yourselfe, but only say that ffranzey leaders may happen to have mad followers; so that to have a gouernment so imposed, what will I feare follow but destractions, hartburnings, disobediance to the seposed comanders, publike diclerations, remonstrenses set forth that may reach as far as England, and so make way for a person to be deputed by the crowne of England, that may, under the collor of Commission, exersise his owne will, not to speak of declerations of userpations still continued in the collony. Some have thought forthwith publekly to declare themselves to the gouevernors in said collony that all may be heald as quietly and as sillently as it may bee, and I doubt not, your wisdome will be exersised in this matter, and that wee may have peace and vnety with you, and that at lentth we may have a happy peaseable settlement: And that the God of peace would by all means geve

us peace and truth, is the desier and prayer of your very humble servant,

NATH$^{LL.}$ WEARE.

Hampton, this 15th of March, 1689–90.

Address to Queen Anne. Sent by Mr. Vaughan, 1707.

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTIE,

Wee, your Majestie's most Loyal and Dutifull Subjects, y^{e} Representatives of your Majestie's province of New-Hampshire, and in General Assembly convened, most humbly begg leave to prostrate ourselves at the feet of your sacred Majestie, and now at this time more especially to represent to your Majestie, that our ancestors and predecessors were eighty years past coming over from England, and issueing out from the neighbouring Colonies, and by and with their concurrence and encouragement, peaceably and in a publick manner entered and satt downe upon the now inhabited lands of this province, and which were not onely then vacuum domicilium, but a miserable desart, and surrounded with the Barbarous Salvages, from whose Sachims our ancestors all along informed and assured us the said lands were honestly and justly purchased for their vse.

That wee and our ancestors through the great mercy of Almighty God, by the expence of our treasure and the swett of our brows, have now turned this wilderness into a fruitfull field.

That wee and our predecessors have, with the expense of our lives and estates, defended this your Majestie's province in two long and distressing warrs, against the Barbarous Salvages, assisted by the Ffrench King's subjects, and which wee are yett engaged in, and must have suffered very much

were wee not encouraged and protected by the great and constant care and vigilance of his Excellency our Governor, and the assistance of his other Government, both as to men and mony.

That by the deligence, industry and expence of your Majestie's Loyal Subjects of this your Majestie's province, wee have soe improved this your Majestie's Countrey, that the Trade thereof is become very Considerable, and of Great Importance and advantage to your Majestie and your people of Great Brittanne.

That all this has been done without the least Aid or Assistance Imaginable of Mr. Mason, or those that succeed him in their pretended Claime to this Countrey.

That the possessions and Estates of this province have been bought and sold, and have descended from family to family for Now neare seaventy years together, and Except it be a very few of the Inhabitants is all they have in the world. Notwithstanding all which, by the Governour's interposition, who endeavoured to Reconcile the difference between Mr. Allen and the people (and not from any difference of our own Right) wee made Overtures to an Agreement ; but Mr. Allen's death prevented any further proceedings therein.

That if your Majestie's most loyal Subjects of this your Majestie's province, may, by your Majestie's Royal favour, be Confirmed & Encouraged in the possession and Enjoyment of what they haue acquired so Just a Right to, and may yett be protected and defended from the vnreasonable and vnjust Claim & demand of Mr. Allen which they Confidently promise themselves from the late instance of your Majestie's great Justice done them in the same case when Mr. Allen Appealed from a Judgment of your Superior Court here to your Majestie in Council, where Judgment was affirmed in favour of the Inhabitants, & hereby your Sacred Majestie will not only haue the Gratefull acknowledg-

ments of your Majestie's most Loyal and Dutifull Subjects in this your Majestie's province; but your Majestie and your people in all places will reap the benefitt and advantage thereof in the Increase of the Trade of this Countrey by a greater supply of your Majestie's Navy.

Whereupon wee your Majestie's most loyal and dutifull Subjects, the Representatives of this your Majestie's province, with all humble prostration, doe, in the Name and behalfe of all your Majestie's people, the Inhabitants of this your Majestie's province, most humbly supplicate your Sacred Majestie to take the Circumstance of our Case and Condition into your Royal Consideration, on whose Wisdome, Justice and favour wee shall alwayes rely and intirely submitt ourselves to, who are your Majestie's most, &c.

Lieut. Gov. Wentworth's Commission.

GEORGE R.

GEORGE, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To Our Trusty and Welbeloved John Wentworth, Esq. Greeting. Whereas by Our Commission under Our Great Seal of Great Britain, bearing date Fifteenth day of June, 1716, We have constituted and appointed Samuel Shute, Esqr. Our Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over Our Province of New Hampshire in New England, in America; and We reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Loyalty, Courage and Circumspection, do, by these presents, constitute and appoint you, the said John Wentworth, to be Our Lieutenant Governor of Our Said Province of New Hampshire in New England, to have, hold, exercise and enjoy the said Place and Office for and during Our Pleasure, with all rights, Privi-

leges, Profits, Perquisites and Advantages to the same belonging or appertaining. And further, in case of the Death, or absence of the said Samuel Shute, We do hereby authorise and empower you to execute and perform all and Singular the Powers and Directions contained in Our said Commission to the said Samuel Shute. And such Instructions as are already or hereafter shall from time to time be sent unto him, so nevertheless that you Observe and follow such Orders and Directions as you shall receive from Us, and from the said Samuel Shute, or any Chief Governor of Our said Province of New Hampshire, for the time being. And all and singular Our Officers and ministers and Loving Subjects of Our said Province, and others whom it may concern, are hereby commanded to take due Notice hereof, and to give their ready obedience accordingly. Given at Our Court at Hampton Court, the 12th day of September, 1717, in the Fourth Year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,

J. ADDISON.

John Wentworth, Esq.
Lieutenant Governor of New Hampshire in America.

[This copy is made from the original in the Secretary's Office, having the autograph of the author of the Spectator, Guardian, &c. whose name, says Dr. Belknap, is "particularly dear to the friends of liberty and literature."]

PAPERS RELATING TO FORT DUMMER.

Order of the King in Council.

At the Court at Kensington, the 6th day of Sept. 1744—Present, the King's most excellent Majesty in Council.

Whereas William Shirley, Esq., his Majesty's Governor of the province of the Massachusetts-bay, hath, by his letters to the lord President of the

council, and to the duke of New-Castle, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of State, which have been laid before his majesty at this board, complained of his majesty's province of New-Hampshire, for neglecting to take possession of, and to provide for a Fort, called Fort Dummer, which was built by the Massachusetts government about twenty years since, upon the western frontiers of that province, and been hitherto garrisoned by them, but is lately fallen within the limits of the said province of New-Hampshire, by the settlement of the boundary line between the two provinces, and which Fort is represented by the said governor to be at this time of very great consequence to all his majesty's subjects in those parts, in regard it is situated within three or four days march at furthest from a very strong Fort, built within these few years by the French at Crown Point, which will be a place of constant retreat and resort for the French and Indians in all their expeditions against the English settlements—And, therefore, requesting that his majesty will be graciously pleased to give such directions in relation thereto, as may prevent the said Fort from falling into the hands of the enemy. The Massachusetts government, not thinking themselves obliged to provide for a Fort which no longer belongs to them, his majesty in council, this day took the same into consideration, together with a report made thereupon, by the lords of the committee of council, and hath been thereupon pleased to order, that the said Fort and garrison thereof should be supported and maintained; and that the governor or commander in chief of New-Hampshire, should forthwith move the assembly, in his majesty's name, to make a proper provision for that service; and at the same time inform them, that in case they refuse to comply with so reasonable and necessary a proposal, his majesty will find himself under a necessity of restoring that Fort, with a proper district contigu-

ous thereto, to the Massachusetts-bay, who cannot, with justice, be required to maintain a Fort no longer within their boundaries; and that the said governor should transmit to his majesty at this board, with all convenient speed, an account of his proceedings, together with the final resolution of the assembly thereupon. But his majesty, considering the importance of the said Fort, and the great mischiefs that may happen to his subjects in those parts, in case the same should in the mean time fall into the hands of the enemy, doth therefore think it proper hereby to order and require the governor of the Massachusetts bay to represent to the assembly of that province the necessity of continuing to provide for the security of Fort Dummer, until a final answer can be obtained from New-Hampshire, and his majesty's pleasure be further signified herein.

Vote of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, relating to Fort Dummer.

Province of the Massachusetts bay. } *In the House of Representatives, Jan.* 9, 1744–5.

The governor's message of the 8th inst. accompanying the order of his majesty in council, respecting the state of Fort Dummer, having been read to the House, it is thereupon unanimously voted, That in consideration of the great danger there is that the said Fort may fall into the enemy's hands, and the inhabitants from Contoocook to Connecticut river be all drove from their settlements, notwithstanding the forces that are maintained by this province in scouting within those limits, the captain general be desired to cause the same number of officers and men, as were in the last establishment at said Fort, to be enlisted, and there posted;

and that the same allowance as before be made for their wages and subsistence, for a term not exceeding three months, to commence the 20th of this month—Provided, that this vote or grant shall not be deemed or urged as a precedent for this government's taking into their pay at any time hereafter this Fort or any other Fort, which may serve as a protection to any inhabitants or estates, the jurisdiction whereof is claimed by any other government.

Sent up for concurrence,

T. CUSHING, *Speaker.*

In Council, Jan. 9th, 1744–5. Read and unanimously concurred,

J. WILLARD, *Sec'ry.*

Consented to, W. SHIRLEY.

Copy of a letter from Gov. Shirley to Gov. Wentworth, relating to Fort Dummer.

Boston, Feb. 25, 1744-5.

SIR—I was loath to divert your Excellency with any new business from the great and important affair of the expedition, which together with the close application of my own mind to that affair, are the reasons that I have not informed you that I have received an order of his majesty relating to the garrison at Fort Dummer, a copy of which I now send you, by which you will find that his majesty expects that the province of New-Hampshire, within the bounds of which that Fort lies, should support it; and that he will upon no terms consent to the evacuating of it; and therefore has ordered me to move our general court to be at the charge of maintaining the said Fort for some short time, till your government shall come to a resolution upon this point: Accordingly, upon my recommendation, the general court here have pro-

vided for the pay and subsistence of the garrison there for three months from the twentieth of January last, as you will find by a copy of their vote, which I now send you, beyond which time I have no expectation that they will burden the people with the charge of supporting a Fort within the district of another government. The affair being in this situation, I must pray your Excellency to come to a speedy resolution herein, that so his majesty's expectations may not be frustrated. I am now ready to deliver up this Fort into your hands, upon your having a garrison ready to take possession of it, as I offered you the last spring. You will please to give me your answer as soon as possible, that so his majesty's service may not be prejudiced by any delay, and that I may make return to his majesty upon this order.

I am, Sir, your Excellency's most
obedient humble servant,
W. SHIRLEY.

Indian Deeds to Wheelwright and others, 1638.

[The following deeds were communicated by Alden Bradford, Esq. late Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, to the Editor of the Portsmouth Journal, and published in that paper, November 22, 1823. They have the appearance of being ancient, but whether copies, or originals, or whether genuine or not, we are unable to determine.]

Know all men by these presents that I Wehanownowit Sagamore of piskatoquacke for good considerations me therevnto mouing and for certen commoditys which I have received have graunted and sould unto John Whelewright of piscatoquake, Samuel Hutchinson and Augustus Stor of Boston Edward Calcord and Darby Field of piscatoquake and John Compton of Róxbury, and Nicholas Needome of Mount Walliston, all the right title and interest in all such lands, woods, meadows, rivers, brookes, springs, as of right belongs unto me from Merimack river to the patents of piscato-

quake bounded with the South East side of piscat-oquake patents and so to goe into the Country north-West thirty miles as far as the easte line, to have and to hold the same to them and their heires for ever. onely the ground wch is broken up is excepted. and that it shall be lawfull for the said Sagamore to hunt and fish and foul in the said limits. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand the 3d day of April. 1638

Signed and possession given
These being present
James Cornall
James ¶ his mrke
His–*W C*–mrke WEHANOWNOWIT his mrke.
William Cole
His ✻ mrke
Lawrence Cowpland

Know all men by these presents yt. I Wehanow-nowitt Sagamore of Pusscataquke for a certaine some of money to mee in hand payd and other Mercantable comodities which I have recd as likewise for other good causes and considerations mee yr into specially mouing haue graunted barganed alienated and sould unto John Wheelewright of Piscataqua and Augustine Storr of Bostone all those Lands woods Medowes Marshes rivers brooks springs with all the appurtenantes emoluments pfitts comodyts there unto belonging lying and situate within three miles on the Northerne side of ye. river Meremake extending thirty miles along by the river from the sea side and from the sayd river side to Pisscataqua Patents thirty miles up into the countrey North West, and soe from the ffalls of Piscataqua to Oyster river thirty miles square eury way, to haue and to hould the same to them and yr heyres for ever, only the ground wh is broaken up is excepted and it shall bee lawfull for ye sayd Sagamore to hunt fish and foule in the sayd lymits. In witnesse wrof I have here unto

sett my hand and seale the third day of Aprill 1638

WEHANOWNOWITT his mrke

TUMMADOCKYON
the sagamores son his mrke

Signed sealed and delivered, and possession given In the presence of

Sameb ‡ his mrk
Aspamabough ‡ his mrke.
Edward Calcord
Nicholas Needham
William Ffurbur

[Endorsed]

Know all men by these prsents that I Watchanowet doe fully consent to the grant within written and do yield up all my right in the said purchased lands to the prtys w'in written

In witnesse whereof I have hereunto set my hand the tenth day of April. 1639.

I doe likewise grant unto them for goode consideration all the meadows and grounds extending for the space of one English mile on the East side of oyster river. April. 10. 1639.

These being prsent

Jo: Underhill his mrke.
Darby Ffield § his mrke

WATCHANOWET

A List of the Congregational Ministers in the County of Hillsborough, from 1685 *to* 1823,

Shewing the time and place, when and where they graduated, the time of their settlement, removal or death, together with the time the respective churches were founded. The whole arranged in the order of time the churches were organized. A dash in the last column shews the person to have been dismissed.

Towns.	Ch'h. foun'd	Ministers.	Grad.	What College.	Settled.	Died or removed.	Age &c.
Dunstable,	1685	Thomas Weld, A. M.	1671	Harvard	Dec. 16, 1685	1702	52
		Nathaniel Prentice, A. M.	1715	do.	1718	Feb. 25, 1737	
		Josiah Swan, A. M.	1733	do.	Dec. 27, 1738	1746	—
		Samuel Bird,	——	——	1747	1751	—
		Joseph Kidder, A. M.	1764	Yale	March 13, 1767	Sept. 6, 1818	77
		Ebenezer Peck Sperry,			Nov. 3, 1813	April, 1819	—
Nottingham-West,	1737	Nathaniel Merrill, A. M.	1732	Harvard	Nov. 30, 1737	1796	
		Jabez Pond Fisher, A. M.	1788	Brown	Feb. 24, 1796	June, 1801	—
Boscawen,	1740	Phinehas Stevens, A. M.	1734	Harvard	Oct. 8, 1740	Jan. 19, 1755	
		Robie Morrill, A. M.	1755	do.	Dec. 29, 1761	Dec. 9, 1766	—
		Nathaniel Merrill, A. B.	1767	do.	Oct. 19, 1768	April 1, 1774	—
		Samuel Wood, D. D.	1779	Dartmouth	Oct. 17, 1781		
Amherst,	1741	Daniel Wilkins, A. M.	1736	Harvard	Sept. 23, 1741	Feb. 11, 1784	73
		Jeremiah Barnard, A. M.	1773	do.	March 3, 1780		
		Nathan Lord, A. M.	1809	Bowdoin	May 22, 1816		
Litchfield,	1741	Joshua Tufts, A. M.	1736	Harvard	1741	1744	—
		Samuel Cotton, A. M.	1759	do.	Jan. 2, 1765	1781	—
		Nathaniel Kennedy,			April 12, 1809	April, 1812	—
		Enoch Pilsbury,	——	——	Oct. 25, 1815	Feb. 15, 1818	30
Hollis,	1743	Daniel Emerson, A. M.	1739	Harvard	April 20, 1743	Sept. 30, 1801	86

Hollis,		Eli Smith, A. M.	1792	Brown	Nov.	27,	1793			
Lyndeborough,	1757	John Rand, A. M.	1748	Harvard	Dec.	3,	1757	April	8, 1762	
		Sewall Goodridge, A. M.	1764	do.	Sept.	7,	1768	March	14, 1809	
		Nathaniel Merrill, A. M.	1809	Dartmouth	Oct.	30,	1811			
Hopkinton,	1757	James Scales, A. M.	1738	Harvard	Nov.	23,	1757	July	4, 1770	—
		Elijah Fletcher, A. M.	1769	do.	Jan.	27,	1773	April	8, 1786	39
		Jacob Cram, A. M.	1782	Dartmouth	Feb.	25,	1789	Jan.	6, 1792	—
		Ethan Smith, A. M.	1790	do.	March	12,	1800	Dec.	16, 1817	—
		Roger Conant Hatch, A. M.	1815	Yale	Oct.	21,	1818			
New-Ipswich,		Stephen Farrar, A. M.	1755	Harvard	Oct.	22,	1760	June	23, 1809	71
		Richard Hall,			March	12,	1812	July	13, 1824	
Wilton,	1763	Jonathan Livermore, A. M.	1760	Harvard	Dec.	14,	1768		1778	—
		Abel Fiske, A. M.	1774	do.	Nov.	18,	1778	April	21, 1802	50
		Thomas Beede, A. M.	1798	do.	March	2,	1803			
Henniker,	1769	Jacob Rice, A. M.	1765	Harvard	June	7,	1769	Feb.	21, 1782	—
		Moses Sawyer, A. M.	1799	Dartmouth	May	26,	1802			
Hillsborough,	1769	Jonathan Barns, A. M.	1770	Harvard	Nov.	25,	1772	Oct.	30, 1808	—
		Stephen Chapin, A. M.	1804	do.	June	19,	1805	May	12, 1808	—
		Seth Chapin, A. M.	1808	Brown	Jan.	1,	1812	June	26, 1816	—
		John Lawton,			Nov.	7,	1821			
Goffstown,	1771	Joseph Currier, A. M.	1765	Harvard	Oct.	30,	1771		1774	—
		Cornelius Waters, A. M.	1774	Dartmouth			1781		1785	—
		David L. Morril, A. M.	——	——	March	3,	1802	July	10, 1811	—
		Benjamin H. Pitman,	——	——	Oct.		1820			
Temple,	1771	Samuel Webster, A. M.	1762	Harvard	Oct.	2,	1771	Nov.	14, 1777	35
		Noah Miles, A. M.	1780	Dartmouth	Oct.	2,	1782			
Warner,	1772	William Kelly, A. M.	1767	Harvard	Feb.	5,	1772	March	11, 1801	—

Warner,		John Woods, A. M.		Williams	June	22,	1814			1823	—
Mason,	1772	Jonathan Searle, A. M.	1764	Harvard	Oct.	14,	1772			1782	—
		Ebenezer Hill, A. M.	1786	do.			1790				
Merrimack,	1772	Jacob Burnap, D. D.	1770	Harvard	Oct.	14,	1772	Dec.	26,	1821	73
Francestown,	1773	Moses Bradford, A. M.	1785	Dartmouth	Sept.	8,	1790				
Salisbury,	1773	Jonathan Searle, A. M.	1765	Harvard	Nov.	17,	1773	Nov.	8,	1791	—
		Thomas Worcester, A. M.	——	——	Nov.	9,	1791	April,		1823	—
Mont-Vernon,	1780	John Bruce, A. M.	1781	Dartmouth	Nov.	3,	1785	March	12,	1809	52
		Stephen Chapin, A. M.	1804	Harvard	Nov.	26,	1809	Nov.	18,	1818	—
		Ebenezer Cheever, A. M.	1817	Bowdoin	Dec.	8,	1819	April	8,	1823	—
		Nathaniel Kingsbury,			Nov.	5,	1823				
Andover,	1782	Josiah Badcock, A. M.	1772	Harvard	Sept.	30,	1782	July	13,	1809	—
Milford,	1788	Humphrey Moore, A. B.	1799	Harvard	Oct.	13,	1802				
Hancock,	1788	Reed Paige, A. M.	1786	Dartmouth	Sept.	21,	1791	July	22,	1816	54
		Archibald Burgess, A. M.	1814	Yale	Dec.	25,	1822				
Weare,	1789	John Cayford,		Edinburg?	Oct.	20,	1802	May	4,	1808	—
Dunbarton,	1789	Walter Harris, A. M.	1787	Dartmouth	Aug.	26,	1789				
Greenfield,	1791	Timothy Clark, A. M.	1791	do.	Jan.	1,	1800				—
		John Walker, A. M.	1808	do.	Feb.	5,	1812			1822	—
		Francis Danforth, A. M.	1819	do.	June	11,	1823				
Brookline,	1796	Lemuel Wadsworth, A. M.	1793	Brown	Oct.	11,	1797	Nov.	25,	1817	48
Peterborough,	1799	Elijah Dunbar, A. M.	1794	Harvard	Oct.	23,	1799				
Deering,	1801	William Sleigh,			Oct.	21,	1801			1807	
Bradford,	1803	Lemuel Bliss, A. M.	1801	Dartmouth	March	6,	1805	July	4,	1814	38
		Robert Paige,			May	22,	1816				
Boscawen, 2d ch'h.	1804	Ebenezer Price, A. M.	1793	Dartmouth	Sept.	26,	1804				

Historical Sketch of Concord, in the county of Merrimack, N. H.—By Jacob B. Moore.

Concord, the seat of the state government, and shire town of the county of Merrimack, New-Hampshire, is pleasantly situated on both sides of Merrimack river, in latitude 43° 12′ N.; 45 miles N. 72½° W. of Portsmouth, 62 miles N. 22° W. of Boston, and 500 miles from Washington-City. It was originally known by the name of *Penacook*, from that of the tribe of Indians who once inhabited the vicinity. It is bounded on the north-west by Canterbury and Boscawen, north-east by Loudon and Chichester, south-east by Pembroke and Bow, and south-west by Hopkinton: comprising an area of 40,919 acres.

As the principal design of this sketch is to present in a summary view the most interesting circumstances which can now be collected in relation to the history of Concord, further notice of its local situation, topography, &c. will be omitted.

In the settlement of new lands, emigrants have generally been careful to select such as were fertile, and well situated for their various pursuits. Hence alluvial valleys and the borders of rivers are sooner settled than the highlands, which, though often as productive, are less easy of cultivation. The Indians were not less sagacious in this particular than the whites, for we find near our principal rivers, remains of their fortifications, and other memorials of their residence there. The intervals situated on the river Merrimack early attracted notice; and several parties, desirous of commencing new settlements, surveyed the lands a great distance from its mouth.

About the year 1720, Captain Ebenezer Eastman and several others, from Haverhill, Mass. explored the lands in this vicinity, and noticing the richness of the intervals, resolved to procure a grant and commence a settlement. Accordingly, at the session of the "General Court of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay," assembled at Boston in May, 1721, a petition was presented for a tract of land "situated on the river Merrymake, at the lower end of Penacook," to contain about eight miles square. The petitioners were unsuccessful in their application until 1725; the governor dissenting from all proceedings of the legislature, though they twice "allowed the petition," in 1721 and 1722, and in 1724 appointed a committee to view the lands. In the beginning of the year 1725, upon the petition of Benjamin Stevens, Ebenezer Eastman and others, in behalf of the intended settlers, a tract of land of about seven miles square was appropriated for a township, by the government of Massachusetts. The conditions of the grant were, that the tract should be divided into one hundred and three equal shares or lots; that one hundred families should settle thereon within the space of three years; that each settler should build a good dwelling-house, "comfortably to receive and entertain his family," and break up and fence in six acres of land for a home lot, within the term aforesaid; that the houses should be

1725. *Jan.* 18. At a meeting of the committee of the general court of Massachusetts, for bringing forward the settlement of a place called Penacook, on each side of Merrimack river, to begin where Contoocook empties itself into the Merrimack—present William Tailor, Elisha Cooke, William Dudley, John Wainwright, Captain John Shapleigh, John Sanders, Eleazar Tyng, and Mr. Joseph Wilder—each admitted settler paid the committee 20*s*.

Feb. 7. "Voted that the settlers shall well and truly fulfil the conditions and orders of the general court. And for the effectual accomplishing the same, it is agreed and resolved, that such and so many of the intended settlers as shall fail of fallowing, fencing or clearing one acre of land within twelve months from the first of June next, shall each of them forfeit and pay the community or settlers, £5, to be appropriated by them to their own benefit."—*Pro. Records.*

erected within twenty rods of each other on the home lots, and in a regular and defensible manner; and that a convenient house for the public worship of God should be completely finished within the time first mentioned. Each settler was to pay the province £5 for his right; and as soon as one hundred were admitted settlers, they were empowered to hold proprietary meetings for the transaction of the business of the settlement. The remaining three rights were reserved, one for the first settled minister, one for a parsonage, and one for "the use of the school forever." The requisite number of settlers having been admitted, a meeting was holden at Haverhill, on the 7th of February, 1725, when the following, among other regulations, was adopted by the proprietors:

"*Agreed and resolved*, That no alienation on any "lot shall be made without the consent of the com- "munity. And if any of the intended settler or "settlers shall alienate his or their lots or settle- "ments to any person or persons, without the con- "sent of the community first had and obtained, such "sale shall be declared void of itself, and the "settler that shall so pretend to alienate his lot, "shall forfeit the same to the community."

The object of this regulation undoubtedly was to exclude *Irish settlers*, against whom a strong national prejudice existed, heightened perhaps by zeal in differing religious opinions. There is another evidence of this in the last petition, by Stevens and others: They state, "that ma-

1726. At a meeting of the "intended settlers," at Andover, Feb. 8, it was agreed and voted that a block house of 25 feet in breadth and 40 feet in length be built at Penacook, for the security of the settlers.

—— *June* 28. Mr. Agent Dummer, at London, was instructed, as it was apprehended by the government of Massachusetts, that New-Hampshire might send home a complaint against the grant of Penacook lately made, to take care and answer any complaint; and he was furnished with the necessary papers.—*Mass. Records.*

"ny applications have been made to the govern-
"ment of New-Hampshire for a grant of the said
"land, (at Penacook) which, though it be the un-
"doubted right and property of this province; yet
"it is highly probable that *a parcel of Irish people*
"will obtain a grant from New-Hampshire for it,
"unless some speedy care be taken by this great
"and honorable court to prevent it."*

In May, 1726, a committee appointed by the government of Massachusetts, with surveyors, chain-men, and a number of the admitted settlers attending them, "proceeded to Penacook, and laid out 103 home lots or divisions on the river, in equal proportion, according to the quantity and quality, as near as the land would admit thereof, agreeably to the order and direction of the great and general court."† This year considerable progress was made

*The jealousy prevalent at this period of the encroachments of settlers upon unappropriated lands, is also evinced in the following order of the general court of Massachusetts, relative to the settlers of Nutfield, [Londonderry] passed Dec. 1, 1720:

"Whereas it appears that several familys lately arrived from Ireland, and others from this province, have presumed to make a settlement upon lands belonging to this province, lying westward of the town of Haverhill, (which they call Nutfield) without any leave or grant obtained from this court: *Resolved*, that the said people be warned to move off from said lands, within the space of seven months, and if they fail to do so, that they be prosecuted by the Attorney-General by writts of trespass and ejectment."

† *Extracts from the journal kept by John Wainwright, one of the committee.*

May 12, 1726. The committee left Haverhill, and proceeded as far as Amoskeag.

13*th*. "This morning we proceeded on our journey—very hilly and mountainous land. About 8 o'clock we passed by a fall called *Annahookline*, [Hooksett] in Merrimack river, which is taken from a hill of the same name. About 10 or 11 o'clock, we forded Suncook river, which is a rapid stream, and many loose stones of some considerable bignesse in it, making it difficult to pass. About 1 o'clock we passed Penacook river, [Soucook] pretty deep and very rocky. In a short time after, we came up as far as Penacook falls, [Garven's] and steered our course north over a large pitch pine plain, three miles at least in length, and about 5 o'clock afternoon arrived at Penacook, and encamped on a piece of intervale called Sugar-Ball plain, from a very large head or hill called Sugar-Ball hill, whereon was the first Indian fort, as we were informed, which the Indians in old times built to defend themselves against the Maquois [Mohawks] and others their enemies. This Sugar-Ball plain is a pretty large tract of land encompassed on all parts with very high and mountainous land, as steep as the roof of an house ordinarily—only where the river runs round it, which encompasses the other parts of it. It is altogether impracticable for a team or even horse-cart to get on the plain, the land is so mountainous round it; and there is no spring on it as we could find."

14*th*. "About 12 o'clock this day, Messrs. Nathaniel Weare, Richard Waldron, jun. and Theodore Atkinson, a committee appointed by the governor and council of

in the settlement, about fifty persons being employed during the warmer season. A new path was cut through the woods from Haverhill to Penacook, by the way of Chester, some portion of the distance on the same route now travelled. The same year the building of a block-house, for the defence of the plantation, and also to serve for a place of public worship, was commenced—to be 25 feet in breadth and 40 in length.

New-Hampshire, came up to our camp, (being attended with about half a score Irishmen, who kept at some distance from the camp) and acquainted us that the government of New-Hampshire, being informed of our business here, had sent them to desire us that we would not proceed in appropriating these lands to any private or particular persons, for that they lay in their government; and our government's making a grant might be attended with very ill consequences to the settlers, when it appeared that the lands fell in the N. H. government. And then they delivered a copy of an order passed by his honour the lieutenant governor and council of New-Hampshire respecting the settling of the lands at Penacook, to which we refer. We made them answer, that the government of the Massachusetts Bay had sent us to lay out the lands here into a township; that they had made a grant of it to some particular men, and that we should proceed to do the business we were come upon, and made no doubt but our government would be always ready to support and justifie their own grants; and that it was the business of the publick, and not ours, to engage in, in order to determine any controversy about the lands. We sent our salutes to the lieutenant governor of New-Hampshire, and the gentlemen took their leaves of us, and set homewards this afternoon."

15*th*. "SUNDAY.—Mr. Enoch Coffin, our chaplain, performed divine service both parts of the day."

16*th*. "At sunrise this morning, according to notification, we chose a representative, *nem. con.* viz. Mr. John Sanders."

18*th*. "It may be observed, that divers rattlesnakes were killed by the several surveying companies, but, thanks be to God, nobody received any hurt from them."

The committee in their report, (*June*, 1726) say,—"In May last, we proceeded to the place, in order to lay out the whole township, and the lots directed in the order of the General Court, beginning at the mouth of Contoocook river, where that joins Merrimack river, and thence run a line east seventeen degrees south four miles, and so at right angles at the extremes of each of the aforesaid lines, seven miles southerly each, and thence from the termination of the seven miles which completes the grant and is according thereto; and upon view and strict survey of the lands on the *east* side of Merrimack, we find that there is little or no water, the land near the river extremely mountainous and almost impassable, and very unfit for and uncapable of receiving fifty families, as the court has ordered; more especially considering that near the centre of the town on the east side of the river Merrimack, the Hon. Samuel Sewall, Esq. has a farm of five hundred acres of good land, formerly granted by this court, and laid out by Gov. Endicott. The committee, therefore, with submission to the honorable General Court, thought it advisable and accordingly have laid out one hundred and three lots of land for settlements, on the *west* side contiguous to each other, regularly, and in a defensible manner, as by the plot of theirs, and of the whole grant (which is hereby presented) will appear; and inasmuch as the generality of the land answers not the grantees' expectation, and five hundred acres laid out as aforesaid, humbly offer, that the like number of acres of the unappropriated lands adjacent to the township, may be made to the settlers as an equivalent therefor." The government of Massachusetts thereupon empowered the grantees to make settlements on the westerly side of the river at pleasure.

The Indians who at this time inhabited the vicinity, were on terms of amity with the whites. During the winter of this year, two or three persons only resided in the block-house at Penacook. The snow was very deep, the cold unusually severe, and their provisions were insufficient to support them through the season. The Indians saw their situation, and as soon as possible journeyed to Haverhill. They there called on the proprietors, and represented to them the situation of the families, very seriously observing that *they would soon come upon the town*, unless they were assisted! A sleigh with stores soon after arrived at Penacook, and rescued them from starvation.

On the 20th May, 1727, the government of New-Hampshire made a grant to Jonathan Wiggin and others of the tract comprised within the following bounds, viz: "beginning on the S. E. side of the town of Chichester, and running nine miles by Chichester and Canterbury, and carrying that breadth of nine miles from each of the aforesaid towns S. W. until the full complement of eighty-one square miles are fully made up." This grant, covering the greater part both of Concord and Pembroke, and a part of Hopkinton, gave rise to a serious controversy between the claimants under each grant, which was continued in law for several years, and was not finally settled until 1762.

During the year 1727, the block-house was finished; considerable quantities of corn and hay were gathered, and the wilderness reduced to some de-

1726. *Dec.* 20. The memorial of the Penacook settlers was presented, respecting 500 acres of land on the E. side of the river, formerly granted to Gov. Endicott, and praying for land instead thereof on the W. Voted unanimously to grant 500 acres on the west side. This grant was confirmed by governor Burnet, Aug. 6, 1728.—*Mass. Records.*

1727. *March* 6. Messrs. Joseph Hall and John Pecker were "empowered to to agree with a minister to preach at Penacook the year ensuing, to begin the service from the fifteenth of May next. The said committee are directed to act with all prudence, and not assure the gentleman more than after the rate of £100 per annum for his service."—*Prop. Records.*

gree of cultivation. Several dwellings had previously been erected; and in the fall of this year the first family, that of Ebenezer Eastman, moved into the place.*

Aug. 6, 1728, the government of Massachusetts, in consideration of a grant of 500 acres of land, formerly made to governor Endicott, which fell within the boundaries of Penacook, and was claimed by the heirs of judge Sewall, empowered the proprietors "by a surveyor and chainmen on oath, to extend the south bounds of the township one hundred rods the full breadth of their town, as an equivalent."

Considerable improvements were made in the settlements in 1729; saw and gristmills were erected by Nathan Simonds, with the assistance of the proprietors; and a ferry was established for the convenience of the settlers.† A substantial fence was this year built for the first time to enclose the interval on the river, "at the common charge." A

1728. On the 15th of February this year, the first child was born at Penacook—Dorcas, a daughter of Edward and Dorcas Abbot: she died Sept. 28, 1797. The first male child was Edward, son of the same parents, born Dec. 27, 1730: he died in Sept. 1801. John Hoit, the second male, was born Sept. 10, 1732—and married a sister of Dr. Carter, Jan. 2, 1755. The elder Mr. Hoit was of Amesbury, Ms.

1729. *Sept.* 4. The proprietors and inhabitants of Penacook petitioned the general court of Massachusetts for the privileges of a town; but no proceedings were had. March 6, 1730, the same petition was renewed, and referred to the consideration of a committee; but no measures were adopted.

---

* Jacob Shute drove Eastman's team, the first that had crossed the wilderness from Haverhill to Penacook. Shute's father was a native of France, and upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantz by Lewis XIV. fled into Ireland. His children emigrated to this country.

Though Eastman's was the first *family* of settlers, it is believed there were several individuals who settled previously. Dr. Rolfe was the first settler, and resided near the residence of the late captain Emery. He was father of Benjamin Rolfe, Esq. The second settler was Richard Uran, afterwards of Newbury. They passed the winter of 1726 at Penacook, living mostly upon the fruits of the wilderness and the *charities* of the Indians.

† The gristmill stood near the present site of the factory of Messrs. I. & J. Eastman, on the east side of the river; the saw-mill about half a mile above, on the same stream. The mill-crank was brought upon a horse from Haverhill. Soon after commencing operations, it was broken. How to remedy the evil they knew not, as there was no blacksmith nearer than Haverhill. But necessity is the mother of invention. They collected together a quantity of pitch knots, fastened the crank with beetle-rings and wedges, and succeeded in their attempt to weld the disjointed parts. The crank was afterwards used for many years.

plank floor was also laid in the "meeting-house," or fort; and the road from Penacook to Haverhill, was altered and improved under the direction of Messrs. Ebenezer Eastman and John Chandler.

The settlers of Penacook, like those of all the older towns, strictly observed the religious institutions of their fathers. Mr. Enoch Coffin, of Newbury, Mass. accompanied them on their first visits to the new lands, and other clergymen occasionally preached to them.* Measures were this year taken to provide for the settlement of a minister; and at a meeting of the settlers in October, it was "voted that every proprietor, or intended settler of Penacook, should forthwith pay or cause to be paid into the hands of the treasurer, the sum of 20*s.* towards the support of an orthodox minister to preach at Penacook aforesaid, the same to be paid in proportion to the preaching." At a previous meeting, they had appointed Deacon John Osgood, Messrs. John Pecker, John Chandler, Ebenezer Eastman, Nathan Symonds, William Barker and Joseph Hall "to *call*† and agree with some suitable person to be minister of the town of Penacook;" and at the same meeting, agreed to pay a salary of £100 lawful money per annum to their minister when settled.‡

---

* At a meeting of the proprietors, at Bradford, March 12, 1728, they voted to pay Mr. Bezaliel Toppan 30*s.* "for preaching and performing divine service at Penacook." £4 was also voted to the heirs of Rev. Enoch Coffin, deceased, for like services. Mr. Enoch Coffin, the first preacher in Concord, was born in Newbury, Feb. 7, 1695, and died Aug. 7, 1727. He was second son of the honorable Nathaniel Coffin, and graduated at Harvard College. Nathaniel was son of Tristram Coffin, of Newbury, whose father Tristram Coffin was son of Peter Coffin, of Brixton parish, 4 miles from Plymouth in Plympton hundred, and who came to New England in 1642, and brought with him his mother, two sisters, and four children.

† The mode of calling and maintaining ministers in congregational societies, originated in an act passed during the reign of William and Mary, approved June 8, 1692.—*Act. IV. William & Mary.*

‡ At the meeting of the grantees and settlers, October 14, 1730, it was "*Voted*, that Mr. Timothy Walker shall have £100 for the year ensuing, and then rise 40*s.* per annum, till it comes to £120, and that to be the stated sum annually for his salary, during his continuance in the ministry, together with the parsonage so long as he carries on the whole work of the ministry. Provided, and it is hereby to be understood, any thing to the contrary above mentioned notwithstanding, that if Mr. Walker, by *extreme old age*, shall be disenabled from carrying on the whole work of the ministry, that he shall abate so much of his salary as shall be rational."

The inhabitants, at a meeting in March, 1730, instructed the committee before named to invite Mr. TIMOTHY WALKER, a graduate of Cambridge, who had just finished his theological studies, to settle with them. On the 14th of October, the proprietors renewed this invitation; and established the salary for the year ensuing at £100, to be increased £2 yearly until it should amount to £120 per annum, which, together with the use of the parsonage, should thereafter constitute the emoluments of their minister. £100 were also voted as a settlement. To the invitation of the people, Mr. Walker returned the following answer:

"*Penacook, Oct.* 14, 1730.

"TO THE ADMITTED SETTLERS OR GRANTEES OF PENACOOK.

"Whereas formerly by a committee you have invited me to settle in the ministry in the said township; upon which invitation I have advised with learned, pious and judicious divines in the ministry, who have jointly advised me to take up with your invitation, provided you vote a sufficient maintenance for me; and you having this day renewed your invitation to me, and done what satisfies me upon the account of salary:—I therefore, being deeply sensible of the importance of the charge, and my own insufficiency to discharge the duties of the same, do accept your call, humbly relying upon the all-sufficient grace of God, which alone can enable me suitably to discharge the same, earnestly desiring your prayers, as well as all others of God's people, that such plentiful measures of His grace may be afforded to me, as may enable me to discharge the duties of so sacred a function, to his acceptance and your edification;

1730. *Oct.* 14.—Voted, that Mr. Cutting Noyes have fifty acres of land in the township of Penacook—provided the said Noyes shall do the *blacksmith's work* of the town from the date hereof.—*Prop. Records.*

that so both you and I may rejoice together in the day of the Lord Jesus.

TIMOTHY WALKER."

The ordination of Rev. Mr. Walker took place on the 18th of November following. The sermon was delivered by the Rev. John Barnard,* of Andover, Mass.; charge by Rev. Samuel Phillips, of Andover; and right hand of fellowship by the Rev. John Brown, of Haverhill. The church was composed of sober and industrious inhabitants; and during the whole course of Mr. Walker's ministry, we do not find that any dissentions or difficulties arose. The people were united in interests and feelings, were educated in the same principles, and generally adopted like habits; and perhaps all strictly united in one mode of worship, and were constant in the observance of religious ordinances.

The meeting-house was this year repaired; and the first burial-place in Concord located and enclosed. The first bridge in the township was built over Soucook river. By an order of the general court of Massachusetts, founded upon a petition of the proprietors, they were empowered to exercise the privileges and immunities of a town in the assessment and collection of taxes, &c. But from some imperfection in the order itself, or some other cause, it was not made use of.

Jan. 31st, 1731, the petition of the inhabitants, &c. of Penacook was renewed, praying for town privileges, and representing that there were then in the settlement eighty families. February 1, a report was made in favor of the petitioners, accepted, and the act accordingly passed.

The first legal meeting of "the inhabitants of the plantation of Penacook," was holden at the meeting-house, Jan. 11, 1732. Capt. Ebenezer

*There is this *peculiar circumstance* in your settlement, that *it is* in a place, where *Satan*, some years ago, had his seat, and the *devil* was wont to be *Invocated* by forsaken *Salvages*: A Place which was the *Rendezvous* and *Head Quarters* of our *Indian Enemies*."—*Barnard's Sermon, p.* 29.

Eastman was appointed moderator ; and the necessary town officers were chosen "to stand to the anniversary meeting in March" following. This meeting was called by "Benjamin Rolfe, by order of the General Court." In the afternoon of the same day, after a notice for that purpose had been issued by the new authorities of Penacook, the inhabitants voted to raise £110 for the support of the ordained minister. At the next meeting, on the 6th of March, besides choosing town officers, the inhabitants voted a bounty of 20*s.* for every wolf "killed within the township;" also a bounty of 6*d.* for killing rattle-snakes, "provided, that the destroyer of such snakes shall bring in a black joint of the tail or with the tail to the selectmen, or either of them." A penny was also voted "for the encouragement of killing of black-birds within the township for the year ensuing, the head being brought to the selectmen or any of them,and *burnt.*" The proprietors this year appropriated 100 acres, including the privileges on Turkey river, to "any suitable person who would build a grist mill."

In 1733, the "plantation of Penacook" was incorporated by the government of Massachusetts as a town by the name of *Rumford*, it being satisfactorily ascertained, as set forth in the preamble to the act, that "the plantation is competently filled with inhabitants, who have built and finished a convenient meeting-house for the public worship of God, and sometime since have settled a learned orthodox minister among them," &c. This name was given from that of a parish in England. The town at their several meetings this year, voted to give Rev. Mr. Walker £50, for building him a dwelling-house, provided that he gave the inhabitants and freeholders a receipt in full for his salary until the 16th of January that year, in consequence of the depreciation of money, it not being equal to silver at 17*s.* the ounce. £30 were appropriated of the moneys in the town treasury for the purchase of am-

munition for the use of the inhabitants. It appears that some fears were entertained of the hostile disposition of the Indians, although no act of aggression had been committed. The sum of £16 was also voted for the support of a school during the winter and spring ensuing; and the selectmen were empowered to provide a school. It was also voted in town meeting, that the selectmen should "find books for the use of the inhabitants and freeholders of the town or plantation, on the town's cost, so far as they shall think necessary." Mr. James Scales, afterwards minister at Hopkinton, was employed to teach the first school; and after him, Mr. Joseph Holt, of Andover, Mass.

From this period until 1739, the affairs of the town continued to prosper with little interruption. Some useful internal regulations were adopted—improvements on the lands were constantly making—the meeting-house was further repaired—and increased attention was paid to the school. In 1735, also, a committee was appointed to petition government for the establishment of a new county, the county of Essex then comprehending all the new grants made by Massachusetts north of Haverhill.

1734. *May* 27.—"20*s*. for each grown wolf," and "1*s*. for each rattlesnake," which should be killed this year, were voted. At a meeting holden the 14th Nov. of the same year, Capt. Ebenezer Eastman and Henry Rolfe, Esq. were chosen to petition the General Court for an order of said Court for raising of money for defraying the ministerial charge, and the other charges of this town for this year and during the court's pleasure."

At the next town meeting, holden on the 26th day of December, £110 were raised for said purpose. The town clerk was also empowered to "ask and receive of John Wainwright, Esq. the clerk of the honorable committee of the Great and General Court, appointed to bring forward the settlement of the township, the book of the proceedings of the said committee, and all the other papers belonging to the town and proprietors," and to receipt for them. Wainwright had for several years been clerk to the proprietors of Penacook. Some disagreement arising, they appointed another in his stead, to whom he refused to deliver the records. Nor was the matter compromised, until Wainwright received from the proprietors an entire lot of land in the new township—upon which, he gave up the records to his successor. The grant was made June 19, 1734.

In 1737, the controversy between Massachusetts and New-Hampshire was heard before commissioners appointed by the Crown. Many attempts had previously been made without success to settle it. New-Hampshire took its name from grants made by the council of Plymouth to Capt. John Mason. Of these there had been four or five, all containing more or less of the same lands. Exceptions being taken to all of them, the controversy had turned upon the construction of the Massachusetts charters. At a hearing before the king in council, in 1677, the agents of Massachusetts, by advice, disclaimed jurisdiction beyond the three miles north of Merrimack river specified in the original charter—and it was determined they had right as far as the river extended; but how far it did extend was not expressly mentioned. It seems, however, not to have been doubted—and soon after the government was transferred from Old England to New, it was known by the name of Merrimack as

At the meeting, March 11, 1734, the necessary town officers were chosen, and some highway regulations adopted. The premiums on wolves and rattlesnakes were continued.

1735. At a meeting, of the "inhabitants and freeholders of the town of Rumford on the 19th of May, 1735, it was put to vote by the moderator, whether they would choose a representative or not, and it passed in the negative." Benjamin Rolfe, Esq. was constituted attorney in behalf of the town to sue the treasurer, John Chandler, for moneys not paid over to the town. At the next meeting, holden on the 22d Sept. of the same year, "*about* £62 were raised for schooling and building part of a bridge over Soucook river," and defraying other expences of the town. A committee was empowered to hire a school-master for four months "the next winter and spring."

A meeting was called on the 10th of December of this year, and a committee appointed to superintend the building of the bridge over the Soucook, and see that the work was "done well and faithfully." At the annual meeting, holden March 9, this year, £50 were granted Rev. Mr. Walker "to enable him to clear a pasture and to bring it to English grass," 30*l.* of which was to be paid in 1736, and the remaining 20*l.* in 1737. 10*s.* bounty on wolves and the same sum on rattlesnakes, continued. Henry Rolfe, Esq. was "chosen and desired to assist and join with others that are or may be chosen for to use proper means for to get the county of Essex divided into two counties." The seats in the meeting-house were ordered to be repaired, a door made for the pulpit, and the windows put up.

far as Penacook. If the original charter of Massachusetts had continued, it is not probable any different construction would ever have been started. But in the new charter, the boundary was differently expressed, and a construction was given which made the line to commence 3 miles north of the mouth of the Merrimack, and run west to the South sea, or the other possessions of the King.

About this time, the government of Massachusetts made grants of several towns between Merrimack and Connecticut rivers—amongst the rest, Penacook, &c. And the government of New-Hampshire supposed that Massachusetts was taking this step in order to strengthen their title by possession. After some delay, commissioners were appointed to settle the line, and met at Hampton, N. H. on the 1st of August, 1737. Mr. Livingston of New-York, presided. After many weeks spent in hearing parties and evidence, and having doubts whether the Massachusetts new charter comprehended the whole of the old colony, they made a decree, with contingencies, subject to the determination of the King. The agents of both governments were active at the British court—and a patient hearing was had, though the judgment of the commissioners was for some reason entirely laid aside. It was determined there, that the northern boundaries of Massachusetts should be a line three miles from the river as far as Pawtucket falls, thence west to the New-York line.*

1736. At the annual meeting in March, the usual business was transacted, and some improvements in highways, &c. agreed upon. There was also a meeting holden May 18th, same year, called for the purpose of choosing a "person to represent them at the Great and General Court to be held at the town house in Boston," on the 26th next then following; but the people declined electing.

1737. It appears by warrants recorded that a town meeting was holden in March of 1737, but its proceedings are not on record. At the meeting holden May 16th following, the town again declined sending a representative to the General Court. It does not appear that any other business was transacted.

* Hutch. Mass. vol. ii. p. 342—350.

The inhabitants at a meeting in 1739, ordered a garrison to be built around Rev. Timothy Walker's dwelling-house. £5 were also granted Mr. Barachias Farnum, to enable him to build a flanker in order to defend his mills, on condition that he should garrison his own dwelling-house. Their apprehensions were now increasing of an attack from the Indians, who inhabited the wilds on the north and west, especially as strong parties of them had visited different places within a few days march, and some offences had been committed. No disasters, however, happened to the inhabitants of Rumford until the fatal attack in 1746.

On the 11th of June, 1740, in pursuance of a precept from the Government of Massachusetts, the first representative from the town of Rumford (*Benjamin Rolfe, Esq.*) was elected. His instructions were to prefer a petition to his Majesty, that the inhabitants "may be quieted in their possessions, and remain under the jurisdiction of the "Massachusetts Bay; also to petition the General "Court to use their influence with his Majesty in "in that behalf." At a meeting in September, "the "town being informed that by the determination of "his Majesty in Council respecting the controverted bounds between the province of Massachusetts

1738. The annual meeting for 1738 was on the 29th March. Galleries to the meeting-house were ordered to be built, and other repairs to be made; also the burying ground to be fenced. The town again, at their meeting 24th May this year, refused sending a representative.

1739. At the meeting in March, it was voted that a school be kept within this town from the 20th Oct. till 20th of April 1740. A meeting was holden Nov. 7th this year; when it was voted that there should be "a good and sufficient garrison built around the Rev. Mr. Timothy Walker's dwelling house as soon as may be conveniently, at the town's cost." 5*l.* were also granted to Mr. Barachias Farnum to enable him to build a flanker in order to defend his mills, provided the said Farnum shall give security to the town that in case he shall not keep a garrison at his dwelling house, the town shall have liberty to take said flanker and convert it to their own use." Another meeting was holden on the 23th Dec. of this year, and a committee appointed to inform of all breaches and prosecute for violations of the act for the preservation of Deer, &c.

" Bay and New-Hampshire, they were excluded " from the former province, to which they always " supposed themselves to belong—voted unani- " mously, to prefer a petition to the King's most " excellent Majesty, setting forth their distressed " estate, and praying to be annexed to the said " Massachusetts province."

By an act of the General Assembly of New-Hampshire, passed March 18, 1741–2, Rumford was made a distinct parish or district, and authorized for six years to exercise certain necessary corporate privileges.

The first school-house in this town was erected in 1742. About this time, the wife of Mr. Jonathan Eastman was taken prisoner by a party of Indians, and carried to Canada. She was soon after redeemed by her husband, and returned to her family.

The opening of the French war in 1744, caused a general anxiety throughout the colonies, and particularly on the frontiers most exposed to Indian depredations. Gov. Wentworth, in his message to the General Assembly in May of this year, exhorts them " to consider with great tenderness the dis- " tress the inhabitants on the frontiers are in at " this juncture, and to make their unhappy situation " their own: to consider them as every day expos- " ed to a surprize from the enemy," and that if provisions for their safety were neglected, they would " become an easy prey to a cruel and bar- " barous enemy." Measures were accordingly

1742. The annual meeting this year was on the 31st March. Messrs. Edward Abbot, John Merrill and Nathaniel Abbot were directed " to take care and build a school-house for this town, as they shall in their best judgment think best—the said house to be built between the widow Barker's barn and the brook by the clay-pits."

1744. On the 28th March, the meeting for choice of officers, &c. was holden this year. 20*s*. O. T. for each wolf, and 2*s*. O. T. for each rattlesnake were voted to be allowed for this year. A vote passed granting liberty for such persons as chose to hire a mistress to use the school-house, until the town had occasion therefor. On the 21st Jan. B. Rolfe was elected to represent the district of Rumford in the Gen. Assembly at Portsmouth.

taken for the safety of those towns most exposed, and small detachments were ordered to the aid of the settlements at Canterbury and Contoocook, (now Boscawen.) The inhabitants of Rumford were as yet without military succour, and they empowered Benjamin Rolfe to petition the legislature of New-Hampshire "for such a number of soldiers as "might be sufficient with the divine blessing to de-"fend them against all attempts of their enemies." His petition was presented in June, of that year, but no detachment was ordered out. In December, the inhabitants again authorized Mr. Rolfe to petition the General Assembly of this province for aid; and also "to represent to his Excellency the Gov-"ernor and General Court of the province of the "Massachusetts Bay, their deplorable circumstan-"ces, being exposed to imminent danger both from "the French and Indian enemy, and to request of "them such aids as to their great wisdom should "seem meet, and which might be sufficient to ena-"ble them with a divine blessing vigorously to re-"pel all attempts of their enemies." Like petitions were also presented in 1745, and a detachment of men was stationed here from Billerica, for a few weeks, by direction of the government of Massachusetts.

On Friday, the 7th of August, 1746, a party of Indians from Canada, to the number of about one hundred, came into this town, and meditated the destruction of the place on the Sabbath following. The inhabitants had for some time previous been expecting an attack, and had made an earnest application to the Governor for military aid—and fortunately

1746. A meeting of the citizens was called on the ninth of February; and Captain Ebenezer Eastman and Mr. Henry Lovejoy were appointed a committee to "represent the difficult circumstances of the inhabitants of Rumford to the great and general court at Portsmouth, respecting the danger we are exposed to both from the French and Indian enemy, and request of them such aid and protection as they in their great wisdom shall think meet."

Capt. Daniel Ladd, with a company of forty men from Exeter, arrived in town the same day. There had previously been a company stationed here from Billerica, for a short time, and also one from Andover. The inhabitants were aware that a considerable body of Indians was in the vicinity, but had as yet discovered but few, who were out on scouts. The Indians themselves, hearing of Capt. Ladd's approach, determined to lie concealed until Sunday following, when they intended to massacre the people assembled in the meeting-house. But the people on Sunday went armed to their devotions, and placed sentinels in different quarters to look out for the approach of the Indians, who had the night previous secreted themselves in the bushes adjacent to the meeting-house, which stood nearly on the spot now occupied by the dwelling of Mr. John West. One party of them was concealed in a thicket of alders, then growing where Dr. Green's house now stands, and another was hid in the bushes on the north, between the meeting-house and Mr. Emery's, near the prison. Some few of them were seen by a little girl during the exercises, but she did not make known the discovery until the meeting closed, when the people marched out in a body; and the Indians observing their arms, concluded to abandon the attack. They then retired

1747. *April* 2. Capt. Eastman, from Penacook, came into the house, and moved that the house would consider their circumstances at Penacook, with regard to the enemy, and would grant them men to help them.—*Assembly Records.*

—— *April* 3. *Voted*, that there be allowed to John Osgood 12*s.* 6*d.* for expense for coffins, &c. for the men killed at Rumford last year.—*Ibid.*

—— *Voted*, that his Excellency the Capt. General be desired to give orders for enlisting or impressing 144 good effective men, to be employed under proper officers in defending the frontiers, guarding the people at work, and scouting, to be posted as follows, viz. 30 at Rochester, 6 at Barrington, 10 at Nottingham, 20 at Canterbury, 20 at Contoocook, 24 at *Penacook*, *&c.*— *Ib.*

—— *Nov.* 12. Phineas Stevens, Ebenezer Eastman and Jeremiah Clough, in behalf of the inhabitants of Contoocook, Rumford and Canterbury, petitioned for aid against expected attacks from the Indians. *Nov.* 13, orders were issued for enlisting 15 soldiers, five for each of said places.— *Ib.*

to the woods on the west towards Hopkinton, with the design to intercept Capt. Ladd and his men, who they supposed were to pass that way on the following morning.

On Monday morning, the 11th, seven of the inhabitants sat out for Hopkinton, two on horses, and the others on foot, all armed. They marched on leisurely, and *Obadiah Peters*, having proceeded some distance forward of the others into a hollow, about one mile and a half from the street, sat down his gun and waited the approach of his friends. The Indians, thinking themselves discovered, rose from their hiding-places, fired and killed Peters on the spot. At this moment, *Jonathan Bradley* and the rest of his party had gained the summit of the hill. Bradley was deceived in the number of the enemy, supposing the few whom he saw near Peters to compose the whole party. He ordered his men to fire, and they rushed down among them. The whole body of Indians instantly arose, being about 100 in number. Bradley now urged his men to fly for safety; but it was too late—the work of destruction had commenced. *Samuel Bradley* was shot through the body—stripped of his clothing and scalped. To Jonathan, they offered "good quarter," having been acquainted with him; but he refused their protection, his heroic spirit thirsting to avenge the death of his comrades. He fought with his gun against the cloud of enemies, until they struck him on his face repeatedly with their knives and tomahawks, and literally hewed him down. They then pierced his body, took off his scalp and clothes. Two others, *John Bean* and *John Lufkin*, attempting to fly, were killed by the same fire with Samuel Bradley. *Alexander Roberts* and *William Stickney* fortunately escaped death, but were made prisoners and taken to Canada. Immediately after the melancholy affair took place, an alarm was given from Walker's garrison to the people on the interval, and elsewhere, at

some little distance. They soon assembled and consulted on measures of safety. The soldiers stationed at the garrison, and several of the inhabitants then repaired to the scene of slaughter. As they approached, the Indians were seen upon the retreat. The bodies were brought away in a cart, and were interred in the church-yard on the following day.* The number killed of the Indians was unknown to the inhabitants until some time after, when the information was obtained from *Roberts*, who had made his escape from captivity. He stated that four were killed, and several wounded, two mortally, who were conveyed away upon litters, and soon after died. Two they buried under a large hemlock tree in the Great Swamp, about half a mile south of the scene of slaughter. The other two were buried at some distance from them, near Turkey river. Roberts found the two bodies under the log after his return from captivity. The head of one was taken away, it was supposed by wild beasts. For the skull of the other, a bounty was paid by the government.

Stickney, after about one year's detention in Canada, found means to escape with a friendly Indian, and proceeded on his way home to within about one day's journey of the white settlements, when they fell short of provisions. The Indian directed Stickney to light a fire and encamp, while he would go in quest of game. After Stickney had prepared his camp, he went out to hunt, and in attempting to cross a river on a log, fell in and was drowned.†

Jonathan Bradley was an officer in Capt. Ladd's company, from Exeter, and stationed here for the defence of the inhabitants. He was about thirty years of age when killed; and was the elder broth-

* Mr. Reuben Abbot, lately deceased at the age of 100 years, was fixed upon by the inhabitants to bring away the bodies of his slaughtered townsmen. He procured an ox-cart at Eastman's fort, and brought away their bodies under the guard of the soldiers and inhabitants. The writer was indebted to this venerable old man for the particulars of the massacre.

† Tradition.

er of Samuel Bradley. He was a man of much coolness and decision; and his vigorous defence against the overwhelming force which crushed him to the earth, is sufficient proof of his determined bravery.

Samuel Bradley was a citizen of this town, and the father of the Hon. John Bradley, who died in 1815. He was a most amiable and promising young man; and his wife, who afterwards married with Richard Calfe, of Chester, and survived both, in the latter years of her life, used to speak with great affection of the husband of her youth, and of his tragical end. She died Aug. 10, 1817, aged 98 years.

Obadiah Peters, of Rumford, was probably a son of Seaborn Peters, who lived in J. Eastman's fort. It appears that at the time of his death he belonged to a company under the command of Capt. Nathaniel Abbot. He had been out in the expedition against Cape Breton, in 1745, in the company commanded by Capt. Eastman.

John Bean was from Brentwood, and *Lufkin* from Kingston.

The initials of those who fell were soon after marked on a large tree, standing near the fatal spot, which stood the only monument of the sanguinary conflict, until within a few years, some person cut it down. It is, however, pleasing to learn that the descendants of Samuel Bradley are about to erect a durable monument over the spot where their worthy ancestor was killed.

The Indians continued in the neighborhood, in small parties, and on the 10th of November following, killed a *Mr. Estabrooks*, on the road between the street and the place of the former massacre.

Early in February, 1747, the inhabitants empowered John Webster to apply to the General Assembly for military assistance. In his petition, he states that there were upwards of eighty families then residing in Rumford, and that they raised an-

nually four times as much provision as was requisite for their own support. Having some reason to apprehend an attack from the Indians in considerable force, a petition was preferred to the Governor in June, stating that traces of the enemy had been discovered by the scouts; that guns had been heard at Rumford and Contoocook at different times; that from the situation of the inhabitants they were exposed to attacks from the enemy, the experience of the whole war having taught them, "that whenever any smart attack was made upon the settlements on Connecticut river, the enemy had never failed of sending a considerable number to visit their river," the Merrimack. The inhabitants at some seasons could work together in bodies, so as not to be so greatly exposed, but haying and harvesting now commencing, it was "impracticable without vast detriment to the whole, and utter ruin to some." A guard of twenty-four men was stationed here from the middle of March to the beginning of May; and subsequently, by order of the Governor, thirty soldiers were detached for the assistance of the inhabitants, who remained with them until they had secured their crops.

October 23d, Dr. Ezra Carter, in behalf of the inhabitants of Rumford, represented by petition to the General Court, that they were "destitute of soldiers, and very much exposed both to the French and Indian enemy, and daily expect, by the experience of the last year, invasions by them, by reason of their killing one man on the 10th of November last, and on the 19th of said November, they were discovered by their tracks in a small snow, and pray your honors to consider our dangerous circumstances, and grant us such protection as you in your great wisdom shall think meet." In November, another guard of five men was ordered here, and similar assistance was afforded the inhabitants of Canterbury and Contoocook.

In the fall of 1747, a large party of Indians again made their appearance in the south-west part of the town, and for several weeks continued ranging about the woods, and destroying the cattle, horses, &c. of the inhabitants. Jeremiah Bradley had a fine field for fall grazing, and into this many of the citizens had turned their sheep and neat cattle. The reports from the guns of the Indians were frequently heard, and numbers of cattle were destroyed. The inhabitants at length rallied in a strong party armed, and proceeded cautiously in two divisions towards the enemy. In the woods near the field, one party found numerous packs, &c. belonging to the Indians, and concluded to await their approach in concealment. As they were approaching, one of the men, through accident, or an eager desire to revenge his losses, fired his musket, and alarmed the wary Indians, who, observing the smoke of the gun, filed off in an opposite direction. The whole party then fired, but with little injury to their tawny adversaries. The body of an Indian was, however, sometime afterwards found secreted in a hollow log, into which, it was supposed, having been wounded by the fire of the party, he had crawled, and expired.

In August of this year died Capt. Ebenezer Eastman, one of the wealthiest and most active of the early settlers. He was born at Haverhill, Ms. in 1689. His father's house and buildings were destroyed, with several others, by the Indians in their memorable attack upon Haverhill, March 15, 1698.* Young Eastman, at the age of 18, joined the regiment of Col. Wainwright in the expedition against Port Royal. In 1711, when the British fleet under Admiral Walker arrived in Boston harbor, the land forces were organizing with great despatch. Eastman now had the command of a company of sol-

* There is a tradition in the family, that sometime previous to this, Eastman's father and a Mr. Abbot, from Andover, were made captives by a party of the Penacook Indians, and were carried to what was afterwards called Sewall's island in the river in this town. No particulars can be collected.

diers, and embarked in one of the transports. The fleet soon sailed up the St. Lawrence, and met with no accident "until they got up off the *Virgin* "*Mountains;* the weather then proving foggy, "and the wind freshening, the Admiral asked the "pilots what was best to do? who advised that as "the fleet was on the north shore, it would be best "to bring to, with their heads to the southward."* The Admiral obstinately refused: and the awful consequence was the destruction of nine ships, the loss of many lives, and the total failure of the expedition, which was designed for the conquest of Canada. The part which Capt. Eastman acted on this occasion, though noticed by none of the historians, is thus related by his grandson,† now living. The pilots, who were perfectly aware of their peril, being well acquainted with the river, could not but be panic-struck at the orders of the admiral, which the captains of the transports seemed bent to follow. Eastman, whose company was on board one of them, represented to the captain their imminent peril, and beseeched him to "haul to windward, that they might escape the breakers." The captain was a true *loyalist*, and exclaimed "he would follow his commodore, if he went to h—ll." Eastman then stated the circumstances to his men, and informed them that if they would support him, he would assume the control of the vessel, and attempt to shun the rocks. This he accordingly did, by ordering the captain to his cabin, and the helmsman to alter his course. They escaped wreck, and when the following morning exhibited to the eyes of the astonished crew, the bodies of the dead and wrecks of the vessels which covered the St. Lawrence, the humbled captain, on his knees, acknowledged his deliverer, and desired his friendship. In the morning, Capt. Eastman appeared before the Admiral, who abruptly asked—"Capt. Eastman,

* Penhallow.

† Jonathan Eastman, Esq.

where were you, when the fleet was cast away?" "I was following my commodore," replied he. "Following your Commodore! (said the Admiral in surprise.) .... You d——d Yankees, are a pack of praying devils; you have saved your own lives, and prayed my men all to h—ll." Capt. Eastman soon after his return entered with zeal into the subject of a new settlement at Penacook. And during his life, was a persevering, influential and useful citizen. He was at the reduction of Louisbourg in 1745, and held a commission in the New-Hampshire forces, under the intrepid Vaughan. He died soon after his return, in his house on the east side of the river, which was then fortified against the attacks of the Indians.

From this period, it is not known that any serious mischiefs were committed by the Indians against the inhabitants of Rumford, although they occasionally suffered some losses in cattle and other property, which the savages chanced to meet with, while ranging through the woods and about the farms of the settlers. They were indeed in constant alarm, and for several years continued their addresses to government for the means of defence. The petition of Dr. Ezra Carter and another, in 1756, states, that "they had been subjected to great loss of time, for several years past by disturbances from the Indians, and particularly for the two last years past, about one fourth of the inhabitants had been driven from their settlements during the busy season of the year, and the whole obliged to divert their attention from husbandry to repair their garrisons, and provide for the safety of their families."

1748. Capt. John Chandler was elected representative of the town of Rumford to the General Assembly, on the 2d January. In March, the lines of the town were perambulated and marked.

In January, 1749, Benjamin Rolfe, in behalf of the inhabitants of Rumford, preferred a petition to the Governor and Council for an act of incorporation. The proprietors of Bow remonstrated against the measure, and their influence prevailed.

A petition for the same purpose was also presented July 14th, 1756, by Ezra Carter, in behalf of the citizens. An act was framed, and after being read in the house of Assembly, was, through the influence of members interested in the Bow lands, rejected.

On the 28th of April, 1752, *Amos Eastman* of this town, in company with *John* and *William Stark* of Dunbarton, and *David Stinson* of Londonderry, being on a hunting expedition near Baker's river in Rumney, were surprized by a party of Indians, ten in number, of the St. Francis tribe. Eastman and John Stark were made prisoners; Stinson and William Stark, attempting to escape, were fired upon. Stinson fell, was dispatched, scalped, and stripped of his wearing apparel. His comrade succeeded in escaping. John Stark and Eastman were carried prisoners to Canada, and sold to the French. They remained in captivity about three months, were redeemed, and returned home. The Indians now exhibited signs of hostility at Canterbury. Rev. Mr. Walker went up to confer with them, and a chief returned with him to Rumford.† A short time after, two persons were taken away from Canterbury by the Indians.

---

† Rev. Mr. Walker, who was beloved by all his parishioners, was also esteemed by the Indians, and when not in open war, they used to visit his house, where they were always well treated. At one time, they came to his house, complaining in angry terms that the white people possessed their lands unjustly. Mr. W. informed them that they were purchased of their chiefs, and that the deed, signed by them, was to be seen in Boston. He finally advised them to go and see it. To this they assented; and on their return, called and took some refreshments, and said that they had seen the paper, and were perfectly satisfied. This deed is the famous instrument of Wheelwright, now generally believed to be a forgery. After the peace, a number of warriors encamped near the minister's house. Mr. W. was absent, and his wife was under great apprehensions of injury. The Indians perceived this, and said to each other, "*minister's wife afraid.*" Upon this, one delivered her all the guns, and said they would call for them the next day. This they did, and were to her kind and affable.

From 1749 to 1766, the year after the incorporation of the town by the name of *Concord*, there are no records of the proceedings of the town or its officers. The town, in fact, existed only as a *parish of Bow*. About this time commenced the perplexing controversy between the proprietors of Bow and the inhabitants of Rumford. It is perhaps well known, that by the construction of the charter of Massachusetts, by King Charles II. in 1677, the jurisdiction of that state extended for three miles to the north of Merrimack river. The government of Massachusetts, in 1725, granted to sundry petitioners the township, afterwards called Rumford; and in 1728, made the grant of Suncook, now Pembroke, to the forty-seven soldiers, or their legal representatives, who were engaged with the celebrated Lovewell against the Indians at Pequackett. These two grants comprised about thirteen square miles, all lying within the supposed limits of Massachusetts. At the time of surveying and laying out the lands at Penacook, it appears that a committee was empowered by the government of New-Hampshire, to proceed to Penacook, and request the surveyors to desist from laying out the lands, as they were claimed by that government. They, however, proceeded to execute the business of their commission, and the plantation settled with much rapidity. In May, 1727, two years after the grant by Massachusetts, the government of New-Hampshire granted to Jonathan Wiggins and others, a tract of eighty-one square miles, which included more than two thirds of both Rumford and Suncook. No settlements were made, however, by the proprietors of Bow, nor did any difficulties arise in consequence of the conflicting grants, for about twenty years, during which time Rumford and Suncook had each settled a minister of the gospel, and converted the wilderness into fruitful fields.

Meantime the controversy between this state and Massachusetts, respecting the boundary line, had been carried before the King, and upon report of commissioners appointed to mark out the dividing line, he decided in 1740, that the northern boundary of Massachusetts should be a curve line pursuing the course of the Merrimack river, at three miles distance on the north, beginning on the Atlantic ocean, and ending at a point due north of Pawtucket falls; thence due west to his Majesty's other possessions. By this determination, all the settlements on the river above Pawtucket falls, fell under the jurisdiction of New-Hampshire. There was an express declaration, however, in the decision of the King, that *private property* should be respected. The inhabitants of Rumford, immediately after learning the determination of the King, petitioned to be restored to the province of Massachusetts; but were unsuccessful. In 1750, the proprietors of Bow commenced numerous suits for the ejectment of the settlers living within the limits of their grant. The course which they pursued was extremely vexatious and calculated to prolong the dispute, if not utterly to ruin many of the settlers, who had made great and expensive improvements on the lands. Every action was commenced for so small a parcel of land, that, by a law of the province, there could be no appeal home.*—The courts and juries were interested in the lands, or prejudiced against the settlers; and justice could hardly be expected to result under such circumstances. The actions were continued to successive

* "But your petitioners' greatest misfortune is, that they cannot have a fair, impartial trial, for that the Governor and most of the Council are proprietors of Bow, and by them not only the judges are appointed, but also the officers that impannel the jurors; and the people are also generally disaffected to your petitioners on account of their deriving their title from the Massachusetts. And all the actions that have hitherto been brought are of so small value, and, as your petitioners apprehend, designedly so, that by a law of the province there can be no appeal from the judgments of the courts to your Majesty in Council; and if it were otherwise, the charges that would attend such appeals would be greater than the value of the land, or than the party defending his title would be able to pay."—*Petition of Rev. Mr. Wolker and Benjamin Rolfe, Esq. to the King.*

terms, but decided by both inferior and superior Courts in favour of the plaintiffs. The defendants, and also the inhabitants generally of both Rumford and Suncook, now petitioned to the King for an impartial trial, and commissioned Rev. Mr. WALKER to proceed to England and lay all the circumstances before his Majesty, empowering him to defend the suits at the Court of St. James.

In 1753, upon the petition of the inhabitants of Rumford, the General Court of Massachusetts granted £100 sterling, towards the expense of defending the suits brought against them by the proprietors of Bow. The Massachusetts agent, Mr. Bollan, was instructed to use his endeavors to obtain such determination of his Majesty in Council, as should quiet the grantees of lands from that province in their possessions. Mr. Walker went to England in 1753, and again a short time after, and succeeded in obtaining a trial on appeal before a committee of the Lords of the Council. Sir William Murray, afterwards Lord Chief-Justice Mansfield, was his counsellor and advocate, with whom he formed a particular acquaintance. After a patient hearing of all the parties concerned, the committee of the Council reported, that the judgments of the courts of New-Hampshire in the case should be reversed, and the appellants be restored to "what they had lost by means of said judgments." This was approved by his Majesty in Council on the 29th December, 1762.

Thus ended the disagreeable controversy with the proprietors of Bow, during the continuance of which, the inhabitants of Rumford had been without town privileges or government, and were harrassed with numerous vexatious suits, and subjected to the expense of attending almost every term of the courts, then exclusively holden at Portsmouth.

On the 17th June, 1765, the government of this State granted the charter of the town of CONCORD, comprising "a part of the town of Bow, and some lands adjoining thereto." The bounds, as described in the charter, began "at the mouth of Contoocook river, which is the S. E. corner of Boscawen; thence S. 73° W. by said Boscawen 4 miles; thence S. 17° E. 7 miles 100 rods; thence N. 73° E. 4 miles to Merrimack river, there crossing the river and still continuing the same course to Soucook river; then beginning again at the mouth of Contoocook river aforesaid, from thence running N. 73° E. 606 rods from the easterly bank of Merrimack river, or till it shall come to the S. W. line of Canterbury; thence S. E. on said line 2 miles 80 rods; thence S. 17 E. to Soucook river aforesaid; thence down said river, till it comes to where the line from Merrimack river strikes the Soucook river."

By the provisions of the act, the first meeting was to be holden on the 3d Tuesday of August, 1765, and Samuel Emerson, Esq. was authorized to call the first town meeting; but in consequence of his neglect, no meeting was notified; and a special resolve was passed by the Legislature on the 27th November, of the same year, for calling a meeting for the choice of town officers, &c. on the third Tuesday of January, 1766.

1766.—At the first legal meeting of the inhabitants of *Concord*, Lt. Richard Hazeltine, who died in 1818, was moderator; Peter Coffin was appointed clerk, and Joseph Farnum, Lot Colby and John Chandler, jun. selectmen. The meeting for the choice of officers for the year ensuing was holden March 4th. On the 25th, another town meeting was holden, and measures taken to provide schools in the different sections of the town—there having previously been but one school in town. Every man was taxed "five days' work on the highways and pound this year."

Dr. Ezra Carter died Sept. 17, 1767, at the age of 48. He was a native of South-Hampton, in this state; studied physic with Dr. Ordway of Salisbury, Mass. and settled in this place about 1740. He was a good scholar, though not liberally educated —a skilful practitioner, and a man universally beloved. Soon after his removal here, he was honored by the inhabitants with civil trusts, which he executed with zealous fidelity. It is to be regretted that of Dr. Carter, as well as of others who lived at a later day, so few particulars can be collected. Enough, however, is known to warrant the assertion that few men excelled him in a benevolent spirit and good humored exertions to promote the peace and welfare of society. He was a man of wit and pleasantry, and when called to visit the sick and desponding, never failed to administer, with his remedies for the body, a cordial to the mind. Dr. Carter, though frequently menaced by the Indians, never suffered from their attacks. About the time of the Bradley massacre, he had gathered into winrows his hay then cut, on the plat of ground extending on the west of the street, near the site of the Capitol. During the night, several Indians secreted themselves in the hay, intending to surprise the Doctor on the following morning. Providentially, a storm of rain commenced early in the morning and continued for several days with little abatement, during which the Indians retired. After peace was restored, the Indians informed the doctor of their meditated attack, and that conceiving the Great Spirit to have sent the rain for his shelter, they dared not remain. On the 10th of November, of the same year, (1746) a Mr. Estabrooks came for the doctor to visit a patient. Through some difficulty in catching his horse, the doctor did not immediately follow Estabrooks. In a very short time, the alarm was given that Estabrooks was killed, and a party proceeding on the road after him, found his body near the path. This

was one of the last acts of Indian hostility in this section of the country. On a certain occasion, Dr. Carter was called to visit a sick family in Bow. Added to their other sorrows, poverty had thrown around them her tatters and rags. Disease is ever loth to quit such company. The family were a long time sick—the doctor was their constant attendant—and on their recovery, the poor man felt new troubles coming upon him. "How, doctor," said the unhappy man, "am I to pay you, for all your kindness, your attention and medicine? You see here a large family, destitute of every thing, save the bare necessaries of life." "I have been faithful to you," replied the doctor, "and am I not entitled to a reward?" "You are, doctor, oh, you are!" said the trembling wife, "but do wait a little—we can't pay you now." "I can inform you, my good friends," said the inexorable physician, "that I am *knowing* to your having property enough to satisfy my demands—and moreover, that I shall *have it* before leaving the house." The poor family were thunderstruck—they knew that no friendly feelings subsisted between the proprietors of Rumford and Bow—but had always heard the doctor applauded as a man of benevolence and mercy. They knew not what to do. At this moment, away scampered a flock of kittens across the room, which the doctor seeing, caught one of them and put it in his pocket. "I told you I should have my pay, (said the doctor) —I have got it.—Good bye, and God bless you!" Many anecdotes of this kind are related of him; and one of the last acts of his life, was equally noble. Just before his decease, he looked over his accounts, filled out receipts against all poor persons, who were indebted to him, with directions that his executors should deliver them to those concerned immediately after his death. This was accordingly done.

1771.—On the 20th December, died Benjamin Rolfe, Esq. who was one of the early settlers, a man

of talents and education, and for many years one of the principal citizens. He was for some time the only magistrate in town, and in all its public transactions, we find him conspicuous. Associated with the Rev. Mr. Walker, whose eldest daughter he married, he assisted in managing the defence of the inhabitants against the vexatious proceedings of the proprietors of Bow. And in the various papers drawn up by him, and other memorials he has left, are to be seen evidences of his care and ability. His widow subsequently married Benjamin Thompson, a school-master of this place, from Woburn, who was afterwards distinguished as Count Rumford. Lady Sarah Thompson died in Concord in 1792. Of her last husband, a more particular notice will be given hereafter.

1772.—At the annual meeting, £60 were "raised for making and repairing highways." Hitherto no specific sum had been appropriated, but the inhabitants devoted each year a certain number of days to that purpose. *April* 7, the parish voted to give $500 for the meeting-house, then the property of individuals; and raised $50 in addition, "to be given the proprietors of the meeting-house, in order to complete the bargain." Messrs. John Kimball, Thomas Stickney and John Bradley were authorized to provide materials and superintend the repairs of the house.

1773.—At the annual March meeting, A. M'Millen, Esq. was authorized to present a petition to the General Court, requesting "that the parish of Concord may be annexed to the county of Hillsborough, provided that there might be an inferior and superior court held annually in said parish."

1772. A meeting was holden the 7th of December this year, and Andrew M'Millen, Esq. empowered "to petition the Hon. Gen. Court of the province (in behalf of the town) for the privilege of laying out roads, as other towns have, and also that the boundaries of *Concord* might be as extensive as the township of *Rumford* formerly was."

1774.—The General Court of Massachusetts, in consideration of the difficulties and embarrassments which the grantees of Rumford had sustained from the suits of the proprietors of Bow, granted them a township in Maine, which was also called Rumford, and was settled by inhabitants from this town.

1775.—The commencement of this year was a period of deep anxiety and gloom. The repeated acts of aggression, on the part of the mother country, had driven the colonies into measures of resistance, bold and decisive. The people were almost universally inspired with the belief that a struggle must ensue, and the lovers of freedom were every where "sounding notes of preparation." Every village, however remote from the probable scene of action, was filled with alarm, and groups of citizens were seen in almost every corner, debating the cause of their country. The alarm of the battle at Lexington spread with rapidity throughout the country. Immediately on the reception of the news here, a company of 30 men, under the command of Capt. Chandler, volunteered and repaired to Cambridge, where they remained a fortnight. Captains Abbot and Hutchins had now recruited companies for eight months' service and joined the American forces. They were in the engagement at Bunker's Hill. One person, *William Mitchell*, from this town, was killed; and a young man of the name of *Peter Kimball*, wounded.

A committee of the provincial congress, which met at Exeter in January, of this year, were directed to address circulars to the several towns, to call another convention. The selectmen called a meeting of the inhabitants of Concord on the 11th of

1773. Lt. John Chandler was the first grand juror called from Concord, appointed Feb. 23, 1773.

1774. At the March meeting, Peter Green, Esq. was directed to present a petition to the General Court for leave to send a representative.

May; and Timothy Walker, jun. was elected "to represent the inhabitants of Concord at the General Convention of Deputies, from the several towns in this government, to be held at Exeter, the 17th of May," and fully empowered "to pursue such measures as may be judged most expedient to restore the rights of the colonies"—to serve for six months. At the expiration of this period, he was again elected to serve for a year. The town at their meeting in December, "voted to pay Capt. Abiel Chandler and others, who went to Cambridge upon the alarm in April, at the same rates allowed other troops of the colony."

There remained in almost every town some staunch friends of the government, who, viewing the attempt of the colonies to shake off their allegiance as desperate and hopeless, preferred either to retire within the acknowledged protection of the King's troops, or to remain inactive and neutral. Benjamin Thompson had already adopted the former course; and there were several others who remained in town. But neutrality is esteemed little better than *treason* in times like these. And to the moral habits of the people, much more than to their feelings, wounded as they were by any apparent treachery or neglect of duty, were the opposers of the great cause indebted for their personal safety.

1776.—Committees of safety were now appointed in the several towns of the colony, whose instructions were derived from the general committee appointed by the provincial Congress. Their powers were extensive; the trust one of great responsibility—and none but the firmest whigs were appointed. Messrs. *Philip Eastman*, *Thomas Stickney*, *Timothy Walker, jun.* *Joseph Hall, jun.* and *Richard Herbert*, were appointed the committee of safety in Concord for this year.

1777.—Measures were this year taken for the remuneration of soldiers engaged in the service of

the country from this town ; and £460 were raised for the purpose. The sum of $100 was also appropriated for the use of the town, in the purchase of ammunition, &c. This year, several individuals, suspected of disaffection to the great cause of the country, were arrested, and conveyed to Exeter, by a number of the citizens of this place. A short imprisonment, or the public denunciation of the people in town meeting, who declared them to be "enemies to their suffering country, and unworthy the countenance of its friends"—had the effect to subdue their loyal spirit; and when the almost certain prospect of success filled the hearts of the patriotic multitude with joy and gratitude, they too, could join in the general triumph.

1778.—At a town meeting in January, Col. *Thomas Stickney* was instructed "to use his influence at the next session of the General Assembly, that a full and free representation of the people of this state be called as soon as conveniently may be, for the sole purpose of laying a permanent plan or system for the future government of this state."

In 1779, a convention, called for that purpose, drew up a Plan of Government, and sent it forth among the people; but so deficient were its general provisions, that it was rejected.

Another convention was soon called, which had nine sessions, and continued from June, 1781, to Oct. 1783. Their first plan of government was

1777. *Committee of Safety.*—Messrs. John Kimball, Thomas Stickney, Reuben Kimball, Benjamin Emery and Richard Herbert.

1778. Col. Timothy Walker was elected a member of the convention which met at Concord this year. The convention met in the meeting-house. Meshech Weare was chairman. In December, Mr. Nathaniel Rolfe was chosen to represent the parish in the General Assembly to be holden at Exeter.

1779. The parish proposed to give up the pew ground to any number of persons who would finish the meeting house, and add a porch ; and the value of another porch ; and to be at the expence of building the steeple. July 19th, the town voted to raise £1124 8 0, in addition to what had already been raised, for defraying the parish expenses of that year. Sept. 6, the same year, the adjourned meeting voted to raise £500 more. The question was taken on the acceptance of the plan of government offered to the people, and there were 26 in favor, and 25 against it.

printed and sent to every town; and the inhabitants were requested to state their objections to any particular part.

1782.—At the town meeting in Concord, Jan. 21st, "it was put to vote to see if the parish would accept the plan of government, as it now stands, and there appeared 48 against said plan, and none for it.

"*Voted*, to have a town representation.

"*Voted*, to have a Governor at the head of the legislative body.

"*Voted*, that the Governor shall not have a privy council.

"*Voted*, that the people at large shall appoint their militia officers."

A second plan was sent out by the convention assembled at Concord, which was most generally approved, but was not completed when the news of peace arrived.—The old form, having expired with the war, was revived for one year by the votes of the people in town-meetings.

A meeting of the inhabitants of Concord was holden Nov. 29th, for the purpose of considering the second plan of government, proposed by the convention. A committee, consisting of Col. Tim-

1780. *July.* The town at a full meeting, voted to give the soldiers that had lately "engaged to serve in the Continental Army, *ten bushels of corn* per month, or money equal thereto." In March, Col. Thomas Stickney was appointed agent to petition the General Assembly, for the extension of the limits of the town, to the ancient boundaries of Rumford. Major Jonathan Hale, in December, was instructed "to join in calling a convention to settle a plan of government for this State."

1781. In the beginning of this year, the General Court having called for sixteen soldiers, Capt. Aaron Kinsman, Lieut. Ezra Carter, Lieut. Asa Kimball, and Ensign James Mitchel, were appointed a committee to procure them. They were enlisted principally in this town. Feb. 6th, the town "voted to raise 1000 Spanish milled dollars, in order to enable the parish to procure the soldiers that are now called for to fill up the Continental army." The selectmen were authorized to lease all the interval lands, and the house lot belonging to the school right, for seven years. Timothy Walker was authorized to petition for a lottery, to build a bridge over Merrimack river; also to support the petition for extending the bounds of the town.

1782. At the annual meeting this year, the inhabitants voted $5 for every grown wolf, and $2,50 for every whelp: 2*s.* per day were to be allowed for labor on highways.

othy Walker, Col. Thomas Stickney, Capt. Benjamin Emery, Capt. Reuben Kimball, Lt. John Bradley, Dr. Peter Green and Mr. Henry Martin, were appointed to take the subject into consideration, and report thereon. At the next meeting, Dec. 16th, there were 52 voters present, all of whom "voted to reject the new constitution, in its present form;" but proposed the following amendments, viz: "that the Governor and Privy Council be left out, and that there be a President, a Legislative Council, and a House of Representatives; and that the powers which are vested in the Governor and Council be vested in the Council and House of Representatives." On the question of adopting the instrument, with those amendments, there were 30 votes in the affirmative.

On the 2d September, 1782, died the venerable Timothy Walker, the first minister, and one of the first settlers, of the town of Concord. He was born at Woburn, Mass. in 1706; and after having graduated at Harvard college, in 1725, he pursued the usual course of theological studies. On the 18th of November, 1730, upon the unanimous invitation of the proprietors of the newly granted township of Penacook, he was ordained their pastor.* After his ordination, Mr. W. returned with the council, and soon came up with his wife, and other settlers, with four of their wives. These were the first women that came into the town, excepting two who passed the previous winter in the block-house, (meeting-house.) Mr. W. erected his house on *Horse-shoe pond* hill; but after the Indians became hostile, he removed his house into a fort which he erected, and remained within its walls, with seven other families, until the wars, in which the Indians engaged, were ended. During this time, the house of worship stood without the walls of the garrison,

* See notice of Mr. Walker's settlement, p. 161.

where the inhabitants attended armed and in companies.

Many anecdotes are related of Mr. W. which prove him to have been a favorite with the Indians, who, even in times of danger and hostilities, were hospitably entertained within the walls of his fort. The merciless cruelties of the Indians, exercised most frequently upon the weak and defenceless, had created a sentiment of hostility against them, which now, as their extermination seemed rapidly approaching, rendered these little offices of friendship very delightful to them. An Indian never forgets a benefit, and many of them regarded Mr. W. as a father and friend.

The years of Mr. W. until the dispute between Bow, (or rather the government of New-Hampshire) and Concord, were passed in opening and improving his farm, and in the discharge of his parochial duties. At this time, he was chosen agent for the town to defend their law suits, and for this purpose made three voyages to England. Sir William Murray, afterwards Lord Mansfield, was his counsellor and advocate in the first cause. The last case detained him in England about two years. During this period, he had frequent interviews with Lord Mansfield at his Chambers, who the year before, was his counsel, and the conversation was often relative to the affairs of America. Mr. Kilby, an eminent merchant of Boston, was at that time in London, and introduced Mr. W. to many of the Ministry. From the manner and spirit of their remarks, when they spoke of America, he was convinced, and observed to the late Dr. Chauncey, "that nothing but the absolute submission of the colonies would satisfy Britain, and that, in the end, we must have a war with Old England and a league with France." He was ever a firm advocate for the rights of the colonies, and at the commencement of hostilities in 1775, although far advanced in years, he encouraged the people to be

decided and persevering in their struggle for Independence. He was chosen by the town a delegate to the first Provincial Congress, and evinced great ardor in the American cause, and an unshaken conviction of its justice and success. He did not live, however, to see the truth of his predictions, and the accomplishment of his most sanguine wishes.

Mr. Walker's zeal in the cause of his country was firm and untiring. When Capt. Jonathan Eastman returned from Bennington, bringing the first intelligence of the victory, Mr. Walker came running out to meet him, eagerly inquiring "What news? friend Eastman! what news?" The captain related to him the joyful tidings; and the good old patriot exclaimed, "Blessed be God! the country is saved—I can now die in peace!"

In his ministry, Mr. Walker was extremely tolerant. Firm in his own tenets; yet to others of different persuasions, kind and charitable; forcibly recommending to all, what he adopted himself, the Bible alone as the rule of their faith and practice. Under his ministry, for 52 years, the town was harmoniously united in one congregation, and he died universally lamented by a people, among whom he had lived in honor and usefulness.

The constitution of 1783 was accepted by the people, and introduced at Concord, June 2d, 1784, by a religious solemnity.

Until this period, the town had been styled and recognized in all its proceedings, as "the *parish* of Concord," being thus named, in the act of incorporation. January 2d, this year, by an act of the legislature, "a gore of land lying at the north-east corner of Concord, consisting of about 1050 acres, in Loudon and Canterbury," was annexed to "the *town* of Concord."

1783. Labor on the highway, 4*s*. per diem. At a meeting Sept. 29, this year, "voted to receive the Constitution of Government as altered in June last." Yeas 20. Nays 10.

1785.—The main-street was laid out by a committee, consisting of Messrs. Benjamin Emery, Joseph Hall, John Bradley, Reuben Kimball and Joseph Farnum.

1786.—Though the State had now recovered from the anxieties and dangers of a revolution, a spirit of disquietude still existed among the people. The large debt occasioned by the war threw heavy burthens upon them, and the constant depreciation of the currency, aided by its frequent issue, caused loud complaints. The call for a new emission of paper was incessant and clamorous. In almost every town, meetings were holden and the subject debated with warmth. The citizens of Concord, however, in town meeting, voted, "that it was inexpedient for this state to make paper money on any plan whatever." Those who were zealous for paper currency, and against the laws which obliged them to pay their debts, now became clamorous against the courts and lawyers: they held them up as public nuisances, and wished to abolish the one, that they might impose a sufficient check upon the exactions of the other. An attempt was made to call a convention at Concord, during the session of the legislature, who should petition the government in favor of the plan. It was thought that the presence of a large body of men, convened under such circumstances, would have great weight. The attempt was defeated in a manner singular and ludicrous.

At the first sitting of the assembly in June, when only five members of the proposed convention were in town, some wags, among whom were several young lawyers, pretended to have been chosen by the towns in which they lived for the same purpose. In conference with the five, they penetrated their views,and persuaded them to post an advertisement, requesting all the members who were in town to assemble immediately, it being of the utmost im-

portance to present their petition as early in the session as possible. By this mean, sixteen pretended members, with five real ones, formed themselves into a convention, choosing one of the five their president, and one of the sixteen their clerk. They carried on their debates and passed votes with much apparent solemnity. Having framed a petition, complaining in the most extravagant terms of their grievances; praying for a loan of THREE MILLIONS of dollars, funded on real estate; for the abolition of inferior courts, *and a reduction of the number of lawyers to only two in each county;* and for a free trade with all the world; they went in procession to the Assembly, (some of whom had been previously let into the secret) and with great formality presented their petition, which was suffered to lie on the table. The convention then dissolved—the petition was withdrawn—and when others, who had been really chosen by the towns, arrived, they were exceedingly mortified on finding their views for that time so completely frustrated. The proceedings of this mock convention were, for a long time, subjects of sport and ridicule.

The public excitement, however, did not stop here. County conventions were called—petitions presented to the legislature—and the ferment at last subsided in the arrest and punishment of the rioters at Exeter.*

The meeting-house was this year finished, and the pews disposed of. At a meeting in December, the town voted "to give Mr. *Jonathan Wilkins* a call to the pastoral care of the church; and a salary (in case he accepted) of £100, with the use of the parsonage, excepting the meadow lot—beside £200 as a settlement." Mr. Wilkins did not accept the invitation.

At their annual meeting in 1788, the town voted to petition the legislature for a *new county.* Col. Timothy Walker was appointed agent, and directed

* See Belknap's account of the insurrection, &c. vol. ii. ch. 27, Hist. N. H.

to correspond with gentlemen in other towns upon the subject. *Sept.* 1, the inhabitants voted to give Mr. ISRAEL EVANS a call to the ministry, with £90 salary, and the use of the parsonage, three acres excepted, which had been disposed of; and also £15 addition to his salary annually, instead of a 'settlement.'

In March, 1789, Mr. Evans accepted the call of the church and people, and his installation took place on the 1st July following. Introductory prayer, by Rev. Jeremy Belknap; Discourse, by Rev. Mr. Eckley, of Boston; Ordaining prayer, by Rev. Mr. Woodman; Charge, by Rev. Dr. Macclintock; Fellowship of the Churches, by Rev. Mr. Colby; and Concluding prayer, by Rev. Mr. Smith.

Rev. Mr. Evans continued to preach unto the people of this place, until 1797. In April, of that year, he announced his "intention of resigning to the town their pulpit, and of finishing his work of the ministry in the place on the first of July." The town signified to him their approbation of his intention, and appointed a committee to wait upon the Ecclesiastical Council, and lay before them the proceedings of the town in that respect. The Council approved of their proceedings; and as no formal charges had been exhibited against Mr. Evans, they recommended him "to the churches, and to the work of the ministry, wherever God in his providence might open a door."

Measures were taken without delay to settle another clergyman, and on the 28th December, the town voted to invite Mr. ASA M'FARLAND to settle among them. A salary of $350, with the use of all the improved lands of the parsonage, was voted, with "liberty to cut what wood and timber on the out-lands he might need." Jan. 27, 1798, Rev. Mr. M'Farland, in an affectionate letter to the church and people, accepted their call to the pastoral care of the church; and his ordination took place on the 7th March following. The officiating clergy-

men, were the Rev. Stephen Peabody, of Atkinson; Rev. John Smith, of Hanover; Rev. Joseph Woodman, of Sanbornton; Rev. Zaccheus Colby, of Pembroke; Rev. Frederick Parker, of Canterbury; Rev. Jedidiah Tucker, of Loudon; and Rev. Josiah Carpenter, of Chichester. Mr. M'Farland was a native of Worcester, Mass., born April 19, 1769; was graduated at Dartmouth College in 1793, and afterwards served as a tutor for two years. The degree of D. D. was conferred upon him by Yale College, under the venerable Dwight, in 1809, and the same year, he was appointed a trustee of Dartmouth College. This latter appointment, he resigned in 1821.*

On the 21st June, 1798, died Major DANIEL LIVERMORE, aged 49. He was an active officer during the revolution, and in many of those important battles which decided the fate of the contest. He was a useful citizen, and was repeatedly honored by his fellow townsmen.

With the public transactions of the town subsequent to this period, perhaps every citizen is well acquainted. Its proceedings have been those merely which related to its internal affairs, and are too recent, too fresh in the memory, to need recital. It is interesting, however, to glance at the rapid improvements in business and wealth which have been made here within the last twenty years. In 1798, there were but two or three trading houses in town; the settlements were thinly scattered; and though there were then several enterprising and active citizens, engaged in business, the village did not exhibit that outward show of prosperity which it does at present. The grounds where the

* The ancestors of Dr. M'Farland were among that colony of Scots, who, in the reign of James I., removed to the province of Ulster, in Ireland. His grandfather, Andrew M'Farland, emigrated to this country, and settled in Worcester, about the time of the settlement of Londonderry, in this State. He left three sons, William, James and Daniel. William died at Worcester, and also James, the father of Dr. M'F.—Daniel removed to the western part of Pennsylvania, about the commencement of the revolution, and finally settled on the Monongahela, where his descendants now live.

lofty edifices erected by the State are situated, were then covered with bushes and trees; and if the prophecy of a facetious legislator, who dreaded some Egyptian visiters, had no foundation, he might have stated that its thickets *had* afforded shelter to far less musical animals.

The public buildings are the Capitol, the State Penitentiary, the Court-House, and the meeting-house.

The building of the Capitol was commenced in 1816; and the legislature convened in its halls in 1819. It is situated in the centre of the village, upon a gently inclined plane between Main and State streets, and has two regular fronts, east and west. The centre of the building is fifty feet in front by fifty-seven in depth; the wings are each thirty-eight feet in front by forty-nine in depth; the whole making a parallelogram of one hundred and twenty-six feet in length by forty-nine in width, with the addition of a projection in the centre of each front of four feet. It is two stories above the basement, which rises five feet above the surface of the ground: the first story is nineteen feet; the second eighteen feet in the wing, and thirty-

1790. *Aug.* 30. The town voted "one hundred pounds for building a house for the accommodation of the General Court," to be 80 by 40 feet, and 15 feet post.

1792. *Oct.* 11. The 11th regiment, for the *first* time paraded on Eastman's plain.

1794. *Dec.* 8th, The town voted "to give, in addition to the Continental pay for the town's quota of minute-men, so much as shall make each one's pay eight dollars per month, and one month's pay to be advanced to each man when they shall be called to march."

1796. The inhabitants voted to finish the town-house, and appropriated £60 for that purpose.

1797. At a meeting in December, it was "voted that the men that enlist, shall have ten dollars with what the Congress give, and if called into service to have one month's pay in advance." Also, "voted that the selectmen give those persons that shall enlist, a HANDSOME TREAT at the expense of the town."

1798. This year, the lines between Concord and Loudon, were perambulated and fixed by the selectmen of the respective towns.

1800. Lines between Hopkinton and Concord, and Canterbury and Concord, perambulated by the selectmen; and again in 1808.

1805. Lines run between Boscawen and Concord by selectmen.

1813. Bye-laws adopted relative to extinguishing of fires.

one in the centre. The roofs of the wings are levelled at the outer ends and rise ten feet against the body of the centre; the roof of the centre rises thirteen feet, presenting gable ends in front; from the middle of which, the cupola rises, eighteen feet square, to the height of fifteen feet above the ridge; thence in an octangular form, thirteen feet in diameter, seventeen feet, and is covered with a roof in the form of an inverted acorn rising to the height of nine feet, and surmounted with a gilt ball, thirty-three inches in diameter, on which stands an eagle six and a half feet in height, with its wings partially expanded. Each front has in its lower story three doors and six windows, and in its upper story, nine windows, with a semi-elliptical window in each gable end: four windows in the south, and two in the north end. The outside walls of the building are of granite stone, hammered, and built in a plain style—the only ornament being a Tuscan frontispiece of stone work at each central front door. The roof and cupola are of wooden materials. The roof is ornamented with a coving appropriate to the Doric order, and a balustrade upon the wings. The square part of the cupola is ornamented with twelve Ionic columns, three at each corner, placed in a triangular position, with an appropriate coving and balustrade. The octangular part has one Ionic column at each corner, surmounted with an urn.

In the second story of the centre is the Representatives' chamber, with an arched ceiling rising thirty feet from the floor, elegantly finished with stucco-work. The north wing contains the Senate chamber, eighteen feet in height, with a beautiful ceiling of plaistering, ornamented with stucco-work, supported by four Ionic columns and an equal number of pilasters. This room, for its neatness and elegance of finishing, is not perhaps inferior to any in the United States. In the south wing are contained the Council chamber and anti-chamber,

both of which are finished in a handsome style. In the same wing, in the lower story, which is divided into two parts, are the Secretary's and Treasurer's offices, over which is a suite of committee rooms. In the north wing, under the Senate chamber, is a spacious room intended for public hearings before committees of the legislature. Under the Representatives' chamber, is an open area, in which are eight Doric columns, supporting the flooring above. This area, with the adjacent passages in the wings, cooled by the current of fresh air passing through the spacious doors and windows opening into them, affords, in the warm month of June, a delightful retreat to legislators, when fatigued by long attention to their arduous duties, or heated by the ardor of debate, above stairs; and it is by no means an uncommon case to see them availing themselves of the benefits of this pleasant retirement.

The lot on which the State House stands contains something more than two acres, enclosed on its sides with a solid wall of hammered stone about five feet high; the front fences are of stone posts and sills and iron castings, with gates of the same material.

The expences of building this house, including the fences, the lot of ground on which it stands and the furniture of the house, amounted to nearly eighty-two thousand dollars. Few public buildings in the United States are superior to this in the beauty of its construction, or the convenience of its apartments. The architects were Messrs. Stuart J. Park and Levi Brigham; the superintending committee, Messrs. Albe Cady, William Low and Jeremiah Pecker. The lot of land on which the building stands, the stone for the house, and drawing the same, were furnished the State by a few public spirited individuals, at an expense of about $4000.

The State Prison was erected in 1812; and cost, with the appurtenances, about $37,000;

since which time nearly $5000 have been drawn from the public treasury to defray the expense of additional buildings, and a new work house, the first one having been destroyed by fire in 1819. The prison is situated on State street, north of the Capitol, and is three stories high, built entirely of granite. It is 70 feet in length, 36 feet wide, the walls of which are three feet in thickness. It contains in all 36 cells, the dimensions of which are 8 feet by 9, with the exception of six in the upper story, for the accommodation of the sick, &c. which are 10 by 17. The yard is enclosed by a faced wall of 259 feet by 192, fourteen feet high, surmounted by a range of pickets ten feet in length. Connected with the prison, is a house for the accommodation of the warden, his family, guards, &c., built also of granite, four stories high, exclusive of the basement, and is 49 feet by 22. The officers, &c. of this institution are a warden, physician, chaplain, deputy-warden, four guards, two overseers of the work-shops—the whole of whom receive their pay directly from the proceeds of the prison, with the exception of the warden, whose salary, $800, is drawn from the treasury. The Governor and Council, for the time being, constitute the board of directors, or visiters. The convicts are employed in stone-cutting, coopering, smithing, shoe-making, weaving, and tailoring.

The meeting-house was erected in 1751. Previous to this, the inhabitants worshipped in the building, erected in 1727, for the defence of the settlement. In 1802, an addition was made to the front of the present house, consisting of a semicircle, projecting thirty feet, and divided into seven angles, with a gallery. This alteration makes the house one of the largest and most convenient in the State.

The county Court-House was originally the town house, and was altered and repaired during the year 1823, expressly for the purpose of accommodating

the courts, at the expense, partly of the town, and partly of individuals. It is one of the most commodious county buildings in the State.

The Society of Friends have a meeting-house, standing near the Congregational church. And the building of a new brick church for the Baptists was commenced in the fall of 1823, a few rods south of the Capitol.

An act of the Legislature, passed July 1, 1823, constituting the county of Merrimack, established this town as the seat of justice. This measure, so highly beneficial to the people of the new county, will also prove a source of additional business to the town.

During the brief period which has elapsed since the commencement of the present century, many estimable and useful men have departed. Nearly all the children and grand-children of the first settlers have left the stage; and a new generation, actuated by different motives, enjoying superior advantages, are succeeding them, reaping the fruits of their toils, their enterprize and watchfulness. It is to be hoped they will imitate their virtues, their strict moral habits, and their persevering industry in the common pursuits of life.

Biographical Notices.

It will not be deemed impertinent, in closing these brief sketches, to notice some of the most distinguished citizens of this town, who have deceased. In doing this, the writer is actuated by no other motive than a wish to perpetuate their good fame, and with it, the salutary influence of their examples. The memory of great and good men, whatever may have been their sphere of action, exalted or humble, should be warmly cherished, if

not for the delight with which we may contemplate their character, and the lessons we may draw therefrom,—at least for the rich impressions it may give the generations that are to come.

If many names of worth and usefulness are left unnoticed, the apology must be, not that the writer was unwilling to extend these notices, but that, after a long period of diligent research, he has been able to obtain no more.

Sir BENJAMIN THOMPSON.

Benjamin Thompson, though not a native of this town, spent several years of usefulness in the place. He was born at Woburn, Mass. March 26, 1753. His father died while he was very young, leaving him to the care of a guardian. He received a common school education, and was placed first with Dr. Hay, a physician of Woburn, where during the intervals of study, he amused himself in making surgical instruments, &c. which he finished in a handsome style. He was next placed as clerk in a store at Salem. His aversion to this business was soon manifested, and he was oftener found with a penknife, file and gimblet under the counter, than with his pen and books in the counting-room. He was fond of the study of chemistry, and enthusiastic in his devotion to mechanics and mathematics. At Salem, he undertook to prepare some fire works, or rockets. While pounding the ingredients, it was supposed a particle of sand, treacherously concealed in the mass, caused a scintillation, and the whole exploded in his face and bosom. The injury which he experienced was severe, and added to a temporary loss of sight, the skin of his face and bosom was taken away with the bandages. Such an apprentice, it might easily be perceived, would not answer the purposes of a merchant.

Young Thompson continued his studies and philosophical inquiries with diligence. Among other

things, he attempted to solve that great desideratum—*perpetual motion.* After residing at Salem and Boston about two years, he returned to his mother in Woburn, his friends receiving him with unwelcome pity, impressed with a belief that he would never fix his mind upon any regular employment, by which he could gain a support.

Through the kindness of a friend, Thompson was admitted to the philosophical lectures commenced at Cambridge about the year 1769; this was a rich feast to him, and he zealously improved his opportunity, making rapid advances in his favorite studies. In 1772, he commenced schoolkeeping in Bradford, Mass.; and soon after removed to this town. He taught school here with success; and afterwards married Mrs. Sarah Rolfe, widow of B. Rolfe, Esq. and daughter of the first minister of Concord, by whom he had one daughter, lately living in France. Pleased with parade and the beau monde, and enjoying from the goodness of nature all the personal recommendations, which attract the admiration of the world, he never appeared at public entertainments, or in fashionable circles, without being respectfully noticed. In an excursion, which he made from Concord to Portsmouth, with his lady, to be present at a military review or some holiday, his genteel appearance and manly, impressive address attracted the observation of many, and among others he was particularly noticed by the governor, Wentworth, who invited him to his party, and never spoke of Mr. Thompson but with delight. The civil and friendly manner, in which he had thus been treated by the Governor, was not mere etiquette, as was sufficiently manifested a little time afterwards, by having the offer of a Major's commission. This mark of esteem and confidence was peculiarly gratifying to Mr. Thompson, as he possessed a genius and taste for military operations.

Mr. Thompson lived with his wife about two years; when the revolution commencing, and being a staunch friend of the government, he was obliged to quit his family and rural residence; and he retired within the lines of the British army. In October, 1775, he went to Rhode-Island; embarked for Boston harbor; and in January following, sailed for England. On arriving in London, he was introduced to Lord Germaine, (afterwards Lord Sackville) then presiding at the head of the American department, who conceived a warm friendship for him. In his office, he enjoyed an honorable post, until, nearly at the close of the contest, he was sent over to New-York; raised a regiment of dragoons; obtained the provincial rank of lieutenant colonel, and became entitled to half-pay, which he received till his death.

After his return to England, in 1784, the King conferred upon him the honor of knighthood. This event was a prelude to public honors elsewhere.—Sir Benjamin Thompson had become acquainted with the minister of one of the most respectable German princes. This, together with his growing greatness, induced his Serene Highness the Elector Palatine, reigning Duke of Bavaria, to invite him into his service, and honorable terms were proposed to him. He applied for, and obtained the King's permission to proceed to Munich. Here he soon obtained considerable influence in public affairs—was instrumental in the introduction of various reforms in the police—and enjoying the confidence and patronage of the Prince, he had an opportunity to reduce to practice his schemes of economy and public improvement. He was soon raised to the highest military rank, and created a Count of the Empire. The remembrance of his native land, and of his youthful enjoyments in this town, induced him to add to his title that of *Rumford*. Mendicity had become a public calamity in many of the German cities, and threatened the most alarming

consequences. Conceiving the project of applying a remedy, and having taken the proper measures, Count Rumford, at a given day and hour, accompanied by several military officers, and a body of troops, issued orders for seizing all the beggars at Munich; and being determined to obviate the possibility of disgrace, attached to such a measure, he began by arresting the first proper object with his own hands. No sooner had he done this, than the officers and men, without making any scruple or difficulty whatever, cleared the streets with promptness and success; but at the same time with all imaginable good nature—so that in the course of a single day, not a beggar was to be seen in the whole range of the metropolis. But to sweep away the whole mendicant tribe, would have done nothing effectual, had not houses of industry been opened for their constant employment, and wholesome viands been procured them. His scheme succeeded admirably. By active exertions, he introduced various manufactures, and thus affording employment to the poorer classes, prevented a renewal of former scenes of indolence, suffering, and vice.—Wherever he went, his schemes for the public advantage were well received; and his fame, as a philosopher and philanthropist continued to increase. He received many favors from the sovereigns of the continent. The Elector Palatine created him a Count, and procured for him the order of St. Stanislaus, from the King of Poland; made him a knight, chamberlain, privy counsellor of state, lieutenant general in his service, as Duke of Bavaria, colonel of his regiment of artillery, and commander-in-chief of the general staff of his army. He was also honored by all the learned societies of Europe, and of his native country. But these high-sounding titles were mere baubles, when compared to his just fame as a philosopher. He made liberal bequests to different institutions in his native country; and died at his country seat of Auteuil, France,

where he had spent the latter years of his life, in 1814. An eloquent eulogy on his character was read before the Institute of France, by M. Cuvier, Jan. 9, 1815, in which a just view is taken of his various discoveries in science, and of his personal exertions and fame.

Little did his friends, who witnessed with sorrow his juvenile pranks, his disregard of any regular business, anticipate his future fame. Little did the scholars who attended to his instructions in this village in 1773–4, and who were sometimes amused with his athletic exercises, and his odd experiments —dream that their master was to be clothed with the stars of princes, and acquire a fame that should be lasting and honorable. While contemplating his character, we do not stop to inquire the motives which induced him to abandon the cause of his native country; but reflect, that, though driven from her shores, and grown illustrious amongst her enemies, he yet bequeathed to her institutions his estate, to her citizens his fame.

Hon. THOMAS W. THOMPSON.

On the first day of October, 1821, died the honorable Thomas W. Thompson. He was born in Boston, Mass. in the month of March, in the year 1765. His father, the late deacon Thomas Thompson, was a native of Alnwick, in North-Britain. His mother, Isabella White, was born in Glasgow, in Scotland. The period of their emigration from Europe to Boston is not recollected. They removed from Boston to Newburyport, when he was quite young. He was fitted for college at Dummer Academy, in the parish of Byfield, in Newbury, Mass. by the venerable Samuel Moody, a Preceptor, who was no less distinguished for talent at governing his pupils, than for his thorough knowledge of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages. He entered the college at Cambridge in the year 1782, and received the degree of A. B. in 1786.

Soon after he left college, the insurrection in Massachusetts, of which Daniel Shays was nominal leader, broke out, and he entered into the army as an aid to General Lincoln, commander of the army of Massachusetts, and served during the whole campaign, in a severe winter, and until the insurrection was quelled. He afterwards pursued the study of Theology, in order to qualify himself for the pulpit. While engaged in that study, he was appointed a Tutor in the College at Cambridge; he accepted the appointment, and was very much a favorite with the students, to whom he was rendered peculiarly agreeable by the suavity of his manners, and native, easy, unaffected politeness—qualities, at that day, too rare among the learned instructors of colleges. Leaving the office of tutor, he commenced the study of law, under the tuition of Theophilus Parsons, "the giant of the law," who then lived at Newburyport. Being admitted to practice at the bar, he came into New-Hampshire in June, 1791, and commenced practice near the south meeting-house, in Salisbury, where he remained about one year, and then removed to the river road, in Salisbury, where he continued in the practice of law until he went the first time to Washington, a representative in Congress. He then withdrew from judicial courts, though he continued through life to give advice as a counsellor at law. Soon after he came into this State, his talents, industry, integrity, and knowledge of the law, introduced him to a very extensive and lucrative practice, and he became well known at the bar, in most of the counties in this State.

In the year 1801, he became a member of the board of trustees of Dartmouth college, and continued such, until he resigned his seat a short time before his death. Of this board, he was an active and efficient member. He was, from 1805 to 1807, a Representative, and once a Senator in the Congress of the United States. He represented the

town of Salisbury once or twice in the Legislature. After his removal to Concord, he was several times elected a Representative of that town. He was Speaker of the House of Representatives of this State at a time when party spirit was at its greatest height ; and, even at that time, his political opponents bore willing testimony to his candor, ability and impartiality in the discharge of the duties of that office.

In the year 1809, he removed from Salisbury to Concord, where he ever after resided until his death. In August, 1819, he sat out on a journey to Quebec, and was on board the steam-boat Phœnix, bound from Burlington to Canada, at the time of its destruction by fire at midnight on lake Champlain. The vessel was all on fire, and the people on board were leaving her in two small boats, while he was left asleep. Waking, he saw the situation of the vessel, and that the last boat was leaving her. He jumped into the boat, already filled nearly to sinking, and was the last person who escaped from the burning vessel. The terrors and fatigue of that night probably produced the disease which put a period to his life.

Hon. TIMOTHY WALKER.

The honorable Timothy Walker, son of the first minister of Concord, was born in 1737, on the paternal farm where he died, May 5, 1822. His earlier years were employed in the pursuits of husbandry, and the acquirement of an education ; he was a good farmer, and his reputation as a scholar stood high in the class which graduated at Cambridge in 1756. He at first designed to engage in the work of the ministry, and qualified himself for that purpose. But the increasing complaints of his country were to him the premonitions of a mighty struggle, and convinced him that she would soon need active spirits on her side. He resolved to re-

linquish his favorite design, and exert himself for the good of his country.

At the commencement of the revolution, a period of much doubt and peril, when most men were agitated, and many trembled for the fate of the colonies—Walker was found among the most judicious, yet determined supporters of the revolution. In almost every town of the country there were many still loyal to the British crown, and who, though in common with their fellow citizens they felt its unhallowed oppressions, were yet willing to endure them. To counteract their exertions was required the utmost vigilance of every friend of liberty. At this critical moment, when the alternative presented of abandoning the country, or arresting her inbred enemies—when personal friendships must be sacrificed at the altar of freedom, and the charities of private life be broken off in watchfulness of public enemies,—Walker was eminently useful; and though he exerted himself to prevent unnecessary riots or tumultuous proceedings, he was vigilant in pursuing the proper course to subserve the interests of the country. He was entrusted with various duties by the government, and in 1776, was a member of the Committee of Safety for the State, who in the recess of Congress, exercised the powers of that body. He commanded a regiment of minute-men in New-Hampshire, was afterwards paymaster of the New-Hampshire forces, and served a campaign at Winter-Hill under General Sullivan. He was a member of the convention which formed our excellent Constitution, was afterwards frequently elected a Representative and Senator to the State Legislature, and was ever found an undeviating advocate of the cause of his country. He was for several years chief-justice of the court of common pleas, and was respected for his uprightness and candor.

At an advanced age, Judge Walker retired from active life to the enjoyment of his farm, and domestic ease and affluence. In private life, he was amiable and sincere; in his manners, frank and honorable; and in his conversation, exhibiting the agreeable powers of an independent and well cultivated mind. To the aged, he was a cheerful and kind companion; to the young, a paternal friend and counsellor: and both had before them in his life a pattern of public and private rectitude.

Doctor PHILIP CARRIGAIN.

Doctor Philip Carrigain, was born in the city of New-York, A. D. 1746. His father, who was also a physician, emigrated from one of the British ports, to that city; where he died after a short residence. From the little that has been preserved of his history, it is known that he was for some time, a student, or an assistant, in one of the Hospitals in London; and that he was in the service of the Pretender in Scotland, A. D. 1745; and from memorials he has left, appears to have been a finished scholar. Doct. C. was brought in his youth to Haverhill, Mass. where he studied physic with the late Doct. Bricket. He came to Concord in 1768, where he established himself as a physician and surgeon. There were then but few of the faculty, in this section of the country; and as he discovered extraordinary skill and decision, in the management of the cases confided to him, he rose rapidly to the highest eminence in his profession, and for the greater part of his succeeding life, had a more extensive practice, than perhaps, any other physician of his time, in the State. He died in August, 1806. His lady died the December preceding. She was the daughter of the late Thomas Clough, Esq. of Canterbury, and was remarkable for the strength and fortitude of her mind; and for her humanity and judgment, in attending and administering to the sick.

Rev. ISRAEL EVANS.

The reverend Israel Evans, the second clergyman settled in Concord, was born in Pennsylvania in 1747; received his education at Princeton college, where he graduated in 1772; was settled here July 1, 1789; resigned his pastoral charge July 1, 1797. He was engaged previous to his settlement here, in the capacity of chaplain in the revolutionary army, and was the only chaplain, who continued in service during the whole struggle. He was with Montgomery before Quebeck—at the capture of Burgoyne—accompanied Gen. Sullivan on his Indian expedition, and witnessed the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. His zeal in the cause of his country frequently led him to expose his life in battle; particularly, in Sullivan's engagement with the Indians, where he acted as an aid to the general. He died on the 9th of March, 1807, at the age of 60 years.

Col. THOMAS STICKNEY.

Col. Thomas Stickney died in this town on the 26th of January, 1809, in the 80th year of his age. He was a native of Bradford, Mass. and son of Lieut. Jeremiah Stickney, who settled in this town, when the former was but two years of age, about the year 1731. In common with others of his fellow-citizens, Stickney was exposed to the dangers of Indian warfare, and was useful to the settlement in forwarding active measures of defence. His brother, *William Stickney*, was taken by the Indians at the massacre of the Bradleys, in 1746, and was accidentally drowned on his return from captivity. Thomas, at the dawn of the revolution, was appointed to the command of a regiment of militia; and besides several local military services, he was at the battle of Bennington, under the heroic Stark, and acquitted himself as a man of bravery.

Col. GORDON HUTCHINS.

Gordon Hutchins was a son of Ephraim Hutchins, and born at Exeter in 1733. At about the age of 13, he accompanied his father, who commanded a company in the expedition against Louisbourg, in the capacity of waiter; but subsequently, held a lieutenancy in the army. Returning from the war, he married and settled in Harvard, Mass.; from which place, in 1773, he removed to Concord. On hearing of the battle of Lexington, Lt. Hutchins repaired to Cambridge; and soon afterwards, enlisted a company, which served an eight months' campaign. In 1777, on learning the perilous situation of the northern frontiers, Capt. Hutchins, who had again been at Cambridge, returning on a Sunday morning, entered the meeting-house; addressed the minister, (Mr. Walker,) and after briefly stating the intelligence he had received respecting the situation of the northern armies, urged his fellow-citizens to volunteer in defence of their country. The appeal was seconded by their worthy and patriotic pastor, and a company of about thirty men was enrolled, and with them, he sat out on the following morning. Before their arrival at Bennington, Stark had immortalized himself, and averted the threatened danger; but they had the satisfaction to witness the surrender of Burgoyne and his army at Saratoga. Previous to this, Capt. Hutchins had been at White-Plains, where he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. From Saratoga, Col. Hutchins returned to domestic life, and died at Concord, December 8th, 1815, aged 82 years. He married two wives, and by them had twenty children.

Churches and Religious Societies.

It will be perceived, that among the first objects of the early settlers of Concord, was the settlement of a minister of the gospel. A church, con-

sisting of eight individuals, was formed on the 18th of November, 1730; at which time the Rev. Mr. Walker was ordained. Their place of public worship, was the log-house, erected in 1727, and used also as a garrison for refuge, in times of alarm and danger. Mr. Walker was a man well fitted to meet the sufferings and privations of the wilderness, and to build up, by sound precept and encouraging example, a united and prosperous church. He was a good farmer, an efficient citizen, and an exemplary christian. In common with his parishioners, he shared the difficulties of their situation, and met, without shrinking, every emergency of want or danger. The troubles which the inhabitants experienced from 1730 to 1770, seemed to have produced an habitual union, which continued for a long time after these troubles had ceased. During a period of more than eighty years, there were no visible differences among the people on religious subjects. For a few years previous to 1816, there had been a respectable society of Friends, who worshipped separately. In 1818, societies of Episcopalians and Baptists were formed, the latter of which is still in a prosperous state.

Rev. Mr. Walker continued the pastor of the congregational church until his death in 1782. From this period until 1789, the church was without a minister, though the ordinances were pretty regularly administered and attended. Rev. Mr. Evans was installed in 1789; continued to preach until the summer of 1797, when his pastoral relation to the church was by mutual consent dissolved. The present incumbent, Rev. Dr. M'Farland, succeeded to the care of the church in 1798.

This church is independent in its form—its government agreeing with the principles of those who fled from persecution in England, to enjoy in this then inhospitable land their religious opinions. It admits the principle of a communion of churches according to the Cambridge platform; but it has never yet had occasion to call in the aid of other

churches to settle difficulties. No ecclesiastical council has been called here, except for the purpose of ordaining or dismissing a minister. The church has a standing committee, whose duties are to assist the pastor in examining candidates for admission, and in endeavoring to settle difficulties, that may arise between individuals, without an appeal to the whole body of the church. Every member has a right to the judgment of the whole body; and, as a last resort, each has a right of appeal to a council of the neighboring churches.

This church, if not the largest, is one of the largest in the state—the number of communicants at present being about 340.

During the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Walker, the recorded admissions to the church are 34 males; 61 females—Total, 95; but this undoubtedly falls far below the actual number. Mr. Walker died in 1782; and of the admissions to the church during the ministry of his successor, Mr. Evans, from 1789 to 1797, no record can be found. The following table, drawn from the records of Rev. Dr. M'Farland, will shew at a glance the number of baptisms, marriages, and admissions to the church, since his ordination, in 1798.

YEARS.	1798	1799	1800	1801	1802	1803	1804	1805	1806	1807	1808	1809	1810	1811
Baptisms,*	34	21	16	17	24	12	16	13	14	20	24	21	15	92
Marriages,†	13	6	8	11	12	22	23	22	17	26	26	20	23	14
Admissions,‡	5	4	3	2	15	1	8	3	1	5	10	8	8	59

YEARS.	1812	1813	1814	1815	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823	TOTALS.
Baptisms,	44	20	13	13	82	35	12	12	78	34	18	15	715
Marriages,	23	14	19	21	20	14	22	9	19	14	11	15	414
Admissions,	36	6	12	4	108	13	6	8	85	9	7	9	435

* There is a record of about 90 baptisms during the ministry of Rev. Mr. Evans, but probably imperfect.

† There are only 8 marriages by Rev. Mr. Walker, on record—those previous to 1738.

‡ This includes those admitted in the usual form, and such as were added by letters from other churches.

Topography.

This town comprises a tract of nearly 41,000 acres, of which 1800 are water. The surface is uneven, though it presents none of the rude acclivities or deep valleys seen in some of the neighboring towns. There are five ponds in Concord, two on the east of the Merrimack, and three on the west. The largest is Turkey pond, in the south-west part of the town, containing about 700 acres; the waters of which form the Turkey river, a stream of some importance, passing east into Bow. Long pond, in the west part of the town, contains about 500 acres, the waters of which pass into the Merrimack below Sewall's island. Turtle pond lies east of Long pond, and near the line of Loudon; it contains about 200 acres, and its waters pass into the Merrimack through the valley east of the river. The others are Snow's pond, north-west of Turtle pond, and Horse-shoe pond, near the meeting-house. The river Soucook forms the south-east boundary of Concord, from Chichester to its junction with the Merrimack below Garven's falls. The Contoocook is a considerable river, entering near the west corner of the town, and uniting with the Merrimack on the north-west line, forming at its junction the island celebrated as the spot where Mrs. Duston made a desperate escape from a party of Indians, in 1698. The design below presents a tolerably accurate view of the island, though it rapidly changes in its appearance, from the action of the freshes of the river.

The Merrimack is the principal river of this region, and is not only the ornament and beautifier of the landscape, but the source of health and profit to the inhabitants. It meanders nearly through the centre of the town, enriching the tracts of interval on its borders. The intervals here are of considerable width, and of great value to the town; though perhaps inferior in extent and beauty to those on the Connecticut. Soon after entering the town, the Merrimack passes over the rapids called Sewall's falls, below which is situated Sewall's island, thus called from an early proprietor. The current of the river from this island is not rapid, and has no natural obstructions, until it reaches Turkey and Garven's falls at the south-east extremity of the town. Locks are here constructed, and the navigation of the river has been open during the boating seasons for several years. The river is here about 100 yards wide, but occasionally the spring and autumn freshes have covered the interval adjoining the principal village, presenting to the eye a body of water of a mile in width. These freshes, though often destructive to crops, fences, &c. are of no disadvantage to the soil, on which they deposit a rich sediment. During the greatest freshes, the river has risen nearly 20 feet above the ordinary level, but this is uncommon. There are two bridges thrown across the river in this town: the Federal, or Upper Bridge, and Concord, or Lower Bridge. At these bridges, are situated the store-houses of the Boating Company on the river. The intercourse with Boston, opened by way of the canals on the Merrimack, has been of considerable advantage to the country. The navigation to this town was opened in 1815,* and the quantity of goods annually brought up has averaged 1000 to 1500 tons. The freight down-

*The first boat of the Merrimack company, arrived at the landing here, June 23, 1815, in 3 1-2 days from Boston.

ward has been more extensive, consisting of the produce of the country, lumber, and other heavy or bulky articles. For the first three years, the business on the river exceeded that for the three last; but there is a prospect that it will hereafter be much increased. The principal village, and the seat of most of the business of the town, extends along the western bank of the Merrimack nearly two miles from south-east to north-west. It is very pleasantly situated, and from its convenient situation has become a place of considerable trade. The state-house,* state-prison, court-house and meeting-house are situated in this village. There are 175 dwelling-houses, 20 stores, 8 taverns, several mechanic shops, 5 printing-offices, 5 bookstores and 2 book-binderies. On the east side of the river, is another considerable village, very pleasantly situated; and a village is also forming in the west part of the town. The soil of this town presents all the varieties common to this region, and is in some parts fertile. The highlands extending back from the river are very productive, and were originally covered with oak, chesnut, maple, &c. The plains are alluvial, and covered with a growth of pine. Large masses of excellent granite are found in this town, and the public edifices here, are erected of this material. This granite affords an admirable material for building; and large quantities, wrought at the State Prison, are annually transported to Boston for architectural purposes. It derives its superiority over the granite of many other countries, from the circumstance that it contains no sulphuret of iron, which, by the action of atmospheric agents, produces an iron-rust stain, that destroys the beauty of the material. Iron ore is found here in small quantities, near the Soucook river, and on the branches of the Turkey river. It was wrought by

* See description of public buildings, p. 197.

the inhabitants during the revolution; but to no great extent. Excellent clay abounds in several places, and extensive potteries have for some years been established.

Note on the Penacook Indians, in New-Hampshire.

By John Farmer. *Concord, Feb.* 24, 1824.

Whatever relates to the aboriginals of our country, those early proprietors of the soil which we inherit, must be interesting to posterity. The lands which we cultivate, the forests, the rivers and mountains around us, once swarmed with a distinct race of the human family. They whose character once stood so lofty and independent, are hardly seen among us, and if seen, are seen "begging the price of their perdition."—They who might have exterminated the Europeans on their arrival, have themselves become exterminated, and most of their memorials have perished with them. Much is it to be regretted, that there has been no historical account of the various tribes residing on Merrimack river, and particularly of the one inhabiting the town of Concord, known at an early period of our history as acknowledging allegiance to the far famed sachem, Passaconaway. But there have been causes why this has not been done. "The horror proceeding from the cruelties of their warfare, forbade the calmness of investigation. As long as they were formidable, curiosity was overpowered by terror; and there was neither leisure, nor inclination to contemplate their character as a portion of the human family, while the glare of conflagration reddened the midnight sky, and the yells of the savage, mingling with the shrieks of butchered victims, rode, as portentous messengers, on every gale. But that state of things has long ceased to exist. The white men of America have become too numerous to fear any longer the effects

of savage barbarity, and the tales which once carried terror to the stoutest heart, are now scarcely heard beyond the precincts of the nursery. In the room of fear, there should now arise a sentiment of pity."*

When our fathers arrived in this country, they found within the confines of New England, five principal nations of the Indians; viz. the Pequots inhabiting Connecticut; the Narragansetts, who inhabited Rhode-Island and the adjacent country; the Pawkunnawkutts, who lived on Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and in Plymouth colony; the Massachusetts, who lived about Massachusetts bay; and the Pawtucketts, who constituted the "fifth and last great sachemship of Indians." "Their country lieth north and north-east from Massachusetts, whose dominion reacheth as far as the English jurisdiction or colony of the Massachusetts, doth now extend."†

To this general division, belonged the Penacooks, or those Indians, who inhabited Concord, and the country for many miles above and below on Merrimack river. There were several "smaller sagamoreships" which were included under the national name of Pawtucketts—such as the Agawams, Naamkeeks, Pascataquas, Accomintas and some others. All these subordinate tribes formed originally but one great nation, and acknowledged subjection to Passaconaway, who was called "the great sachem of Penacook."

The Penacooks were probably among the most powerful of these subordinate tribes, though their history is but little known, and at this distance of time, cannot be given with any degree of minuteness. Passaconaway was the first sagamore of whom we find any account in our historians. If the Wheelwright deed be not a forgery, he was living as early as 1629, and it appears from Hubbard's

* Rev. Dr. Jarvis' address before the New-York Hist. Soc.

† Gookin, in Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc. Vol. 1, page 149, first series.

narrative, that he was alive in 1660. In that year, the Indians had a great dance and feast, on which occasion, this powerful sagamore, being grown old, made his farewell speech to his children and people, in which, as a dying man, he warned them to take heed how they quarrelled with their English neighbors; for though they might do them some damage, yet it would prove the means of their own destruction. He told them he had been a bitter enemy to the English, and by the arts of sorcery, had tried his utmost to hinder their settlement and increase, but could by no means succeed.

Wonolanset succeeded his father as sachem of Penacook, and observed his dying advice. When the war with Philip commenced in 1675, he withdrew himself with his people to some remote place, that they might not be drawn into the quarrel. The Penacooks appear to have maintained a friendly disposition so long as they were under the control of Wonolanset.

About the year 1684, Lieut. Gov. Cranfield formed the project of bringing down the Mohawks, from New-York, in order to destroy the Penacook and Eastern Indians. This measure had once before been resorted to, but proved very pernicious in its effects, as that ferocious and warlike people made no distinction between those tribes which were at peace with the English, and those which were at war. Some of the Penacook Indians, who had been to Albany soon after Cranfield made a journey to the province of New-York, reported on their return, that the Mohawks threatened destruction to all the eastern Indians, from Narraganset in Rhode-Island to Pechypscot in Maine.* The Penacooks were about this time under the government of Hogkins, a sachem who succeeded Wonolanset.

* "Four Indians came from fort Albany to the Fort at Pennicooke and informed them that all the Mokawkes did declare they would kill all Indians from Uncas at Mount Hope to the eastward as far as Pegypscut." *Report to Walter Barefoote, Esq. and Council.*

From the articles of Peace between the English inhabiting the province of N. Hampshire and Maine, and the Indians of these provinces, agreed upon the 8th day of September, 1685, it appears, that Kancamagus was his Indian name, and that Hogkins or Hawkins was the English name he had assumed.

In the spring of 1685, he informed Cranfield of the danger the Penacooks apprehended,* and implored assistance and protection, but was treated with neglect.

In August, 1685, the Penacook and Saco Indians gathered their corn, and removed their families, which gave an alarm to their English neighbors, as if they were preparing for war. Messengers being sent to demand the reason of their movement, were informed that it was the fear of Mohawks, whom they daily expected to destroy them; and being asked why they did not come in among the English for protection, they answered, lest the Mohawks should hurt the English on that account. Upon this, they were persuaded to enter into an

---

* His letter to Gov. Cranfield at this time will explain his situation and his fears, and may be regarded as a curiosity. The original is preserved in the Recorder's office in N. H.

May 15th, 1685.

"*Honour gouernor my friend,*

You my friend I desire your worship and your power, because I hope you can do som great matters this one. I am poor and naked, and I have no man at my place because I afraid allwayes Mohogs he will kill me every day and night. If your worship when please pray help me you no let Mohogs kill me at my place at Malamake river called Panukkog and Nattukkog. I will submit your worship and your power. And now I want pouder and such alminishon, shott and guns, because I have forth at my hom and I plant theare.

This all Indian hand, but pray do you consider your humble servant,

JOHN HOGKINS.

Simon Detogkom,
Joseph X Traske,
King ‖ Hary,
Sam ‖ Linis. [*at.*
Wapeguanat ‖ Saguachuwash
Old Robin ‖
Mamanosgues ☽ Andra,
Peter ☽ Robin,
Mr Jorge + Roddunnonukgus,
Mr Hope × Hoth,
John + Tonch,
John ā Canowa,
John x Owamosimmin,
Natonill † Indian."

These were probably some of the principal men of the tribe. Two other letters from Hogkins to Cranfield are preserved in I. Belknap, 346.

agreement; and accordingly the chiefs of the Penacooks and of the Saco Indians being assembled with the Council of New-Hampshire, and a deputation from the province of Maine, a treaty was concluded, wherein it was stipulated, that all future personal injuries on either side should, upon complaint, be immediately redressed; that information should be given of approaching danger from enemies; that the Indians should not remove their families from the neighborhood of the English without giving timely notice, and if they did, it should be taken for a declaration of war; and, that while these articles were observed, the English would assist and protect them against the Mohawks and all other enemies.

From this time, peace continued without interruption till 1689, when a confederacy was formed between the tribes of Penacook and Pequawkett, and the strange Indians, (as they were called) who were incorporated with them, to attack the settlement at Dover. The Penacooks were among the four hundred Indians, who were seized at Dover by Major Waldron in 1676, and were dismissed at that time, probably on account of the friendly disposition of Wonolanset. Notwithstanding they experienced the clemency of Major Waldron, in being permitted to depart in safety, they did not *forget* the conduct of the Major to their allies, and were easily seduced to join the confederacy by those, who had, for about thirteen years, cherished an inextinguishable thirst of revenge against the brave, but unfortunate Waldron. The plot formed against the inhabitants of Dover was disclosed by two of the Penacooks to Major Hinchman, of Chelmsford, who immediately informed Mr. Danforth, a member of the council of Massachusetts, by the following letter, the original of which is on file in the Secretary's office in Massachusetts.

"*Hon'd Sir*,

This day, two Indians came from Pennacook, viz.

Job Maramasquand and Peter Muckamug, who report that damage will undoubtedly be done within a few days at Piscataqua, and that Major Waldron, in particular, is threatened; and that Julimatt fears that mischief will quickly be done at Dunstable. The Indians can give a more particular account to your honor. They say, if damage be done, the blame shall not be on them, having given a faithful account of what they hear; and are upon that report moved to leave their habitation and corn at Pennacook. Sir, I was very loth to trouble you, and to expose myself to the censure and derision of some of the confident people, that would pretend to make a sport with what I send down by Capt. Tom, (alias Thomas Ukqucakussennum.)

I am constrained, from a sense of my duty, and from love to my countrymen, to give the information as above. So with my humble service to your honor, and prayers for the safety of an endangered people—I am, Sir, your humble servant,

THO: HINCHMAN.

June 22.

Hon. Thomas Danforth."

Mr. Danforth was detained from the meeting of the council. He however, on the same day, communicated Major Hinchman's letter to Governor Bradstreet, who, with the council, ordered a messenger to be sent to Cochecho, with the following disclosure of the plot in a letter, written by Secretary Addington.

"*Boston*, 27 *June*, 1689.

Honble Sir,

The governor and councill haveing this day received a letter from Major Henchman of Chelmsford, that some Indians are come in to them, who report that there is a gathering of some Indians in and about Penecooke, with designe of mischiefe to the English. Among the said Indians, one Hawkins is said to be a principal designer, and that

they have a particular designe against yourself and Mr. Peter Coffin, which the councill thought it necessary presently to dispatch advice thereof to give you notice, that you take care of your own safeguard, they intending to betray you on a pretention of trade.

Please forthwith to signify the import hereof to Mr. Coffin and others, as you shall think necessary, and advise of what informations you may at any time receive of the Indians motions. By order in Councill. ISA : ADDINGTON, *Sec'y.*

For Mr. Richard Waldron and Mr. Peter Coffin, or either of them, att Cochecha ; these with all possible speed."

This letter was despatched from Boston by Mr. Weare; but some delay he met with at Newbury ferry prevented its arrival in season. The same day, after the mischief was done, the preceding letter fell into the hands of Maj. Waldron's son. Had it been seasonably received, it would probably have saved the lives of twenty-three persons, who fell a sacrifice to Indian cruelty, besides preventing the capture of twenty-nine others, and the destruction of much valuable property.*

Upon the depredations at Dover, vigorous measures were immediately adopted. A party under Capt. Noyes was despatched to Penacook, to inflict summary punishment upon those who were concerned in the affair at Cochecho ; but the Indians all escaped. They, however, destroyed their corn.

It appears that after this, the Penacooks continued to exist as a distinct tribe for many years ; though as a separate tribe, they ceased to be formidable after this event. We find that they are mentioned in Penhallow's Indian Wars, (page 2,) where there is an account of a conference held by Governor Dudley at Casco, in 1703, with delegates

* For a particular account of the attack on Dover, see Belknap's His. N. H. vol. I, page 198.

from several tribes. The Norridgewocks, Penobscots, Pequawketts, Penacooks and Ameriscoggins assured the governor, at this meeting, that "as high as the sun was above the earth, so far distant was their design of making the least breach of the peace."

At the same time they made this declaration, they were meditating hostilities, which commenced on the 10th of August, 1703. After this period, we hear little or nothing of the Penacooks, as a separate tribe. Those of them who were hostile to the English, probably mixed with the eastern Indians, between whom and the Penacooks, was a close affinity. As the governor of Canada had encouraged the Indians who inhabited the borders of New-England, to remove to Canada, it is likely that some of them went thither, and were incorporated with the tribes of St. Francis. But those who continued friendly to the English, of which there had always been a small number, remained here until 1725, and were highly useful to the first inhabitants, supplying them with food when almost in a state of starvation.

The Penacook Indians were a more warlike tribe than the Pawtuckett, or Wamesit Indians, who lived around Pawtuckett Falls, in Chelmsford. They were opposed to the introduction of christianity among them, and "obstinately refused to pray to God." Before the year 1670, a party of them went down the Merrimack, and built a fort at Pawtuckett. They also erected a fort on Sugar-Ball Hill, so called, in Concord, as a protection against the incursions of the Mohawks and other enemies. A considerable number of them joined in an expedition against that formidable nation, and were principally destroyed. Tradition says, that there was once a very obstinate engagement between the Mohawks and Penacooks on the river in this vicinity, but the time, place and circumstances are unknown to the present generation. The Indians of the most

peaceful character among the Penacooks, were the Robin family, a part of which lived in Chelmsford, and owned a hill in that town, which, for almost two hundred years, has been known by the name of *Robin's Hill.* From the early settlement of this country, this family had been friendly to the English. The first settlement at Ipswich was protected by the friendly intimations of threatened danger received from one of this family, as appears from the following account, found among the papers of the Rev. Mr. Cobbet, one of the early ministers of that place.

"At the first planting of Ipswich, the Tarrateens or Easterly Indians had a design to cut them [the English] off at the first, when they had but between 20 and 30 men, old and young, belonging to the place; and at that instant, most of them gone into the bay about their occasions, not hearing of any intimations thereof. It was thus. One *Robin*, a friendly Indian, came to John Perkins, then a young man, living then in a little hut upon his father's island on this side of Jeoffry's neck, and told him, on such a Thursday morning, early, there would come four Indians to draw him to go down the hill to the water side to truck with them, which if he did, he and all near him would be cut off; for there were 40 birchen canoes would lie out of sight at the brow of the hill full of armed Indians for that purpose. Of this, he forthwith acquainted Mr. John Winthrop, who then lived there in a house near the water, who advised him, if such Indians came, to carry it ruggedly towards them, and threaten to shoot them if they would not be gone; and when their backs were turned, to strike up a drum he had with him, besides his two muskets, and then discharge them, that so 6 or 8 young men, who were in the marshes hard by, a mowing, keeping their guns ready charged by them, might take the alarm, and the Indians would perceive their plot was discovered, and haste away to sea again, which accordingly was so acted, and took like effect; for he

told me, he presently after discerned 40 canoes shove off from under the hill, and make as fast as they could to sea."

Many of the Penacooks had English names, in addition to their original names. Thus, we find that Bagesson, one of the grantors of Rutland, in Massachusetts, assumed the name of Joseph Traske; Kancamagus, of John Hawkins; Umbesnowah, of Robin; Mamanosgues, of Andrew, &c. Few Indian names of places within the limits of Concord have been perpetuated by the English.—Most of the streams, ponds, and hills, are known by the names given to them by the first settlers.

Authorities for the preceding Note.—*Gookin's Collections; Mather's Magnalia; Belknap's Hist. of N. H.; Hutchinson's Hist. of Mass.; Penhallow's Indian Wars; and Rev. Mr. Allen's History of Chelmsford.*

Answers to the Queries sent from the Right Honorable the Lords of Trade and Plantations.—January 22, 1730.

1. The situation of the province of New-Hampshire, is between the province of the Massachusetts Bay, and the late province of Maine, bordering about fifteen miles in width upon the Atlantic Sea, or Western Ocean.—The nature of the country, as to the ground, is rough, uneven, and hilly, but for the most part a good soil, being a mixture of clay land and loam, well watered, and suitably adapted for hemp and flax, and having considerable meadows in it. As to the climate, 'tis cold. Portsmouth, the capital of the province, is in forty three degrees and twenty minutes north latitude, and sixty eight degrees west from London, settled by good observations.

2. The province has no other boundaries than what are expressed in the King's commission to the Governor, and they are from three miles to the northward of Merrimack river on the one side, to Pascataqua river on the other, and no other bounds are mentioned in the said commission, and both of them are in dispute with the government of the Massachusetts Bay.

3. As to the Constitution of the government, the supreme power here, is vested in the Governor and Council, (appointed by the King,) and a house of representatives, (chosen by the people) who make laws, &c.

4. The trade of the province is lumber and fish. The number of shipping belonging to the province, are five, consisting of about five hundred tons; and there are about three or four hundred tons of other shipping, that trade here (annually) not belonging to the province. The seafaring men, are about forty. The trade is much the same as it hath been, for some years past.

5. The province makes use of all sorts of British manufactures amounting to about five thousand pounds sterling, annually in value, which are had principally from Boston.

6. The trade of this province to other plantations is to the Caribbee Islands, whither we send lumber and fish, and receive for it rum, sugar, molasses and cotton; and as to the trade from hence to Europe, it is to Spain, or Portugal, from whence our vessels bring home salt.

7. The method to prevent illegal trade is by a collector appointed at home.

8. The natural produce of the province is timber (of various kinds (viz.) (principally) oak, pine, hemlock, ash, beech and birch,) and fish, and they are the only commodity's of the place.

The timber is generally manufactured into beams, plank, knees, boards, clapboards, shingles and staves, and sometimes into house frames, and the

value of those commodity's annually exported from hence to Europe and the West-India Islands,is about a thousand pounds sterling. *Mem.* Besides what is above mentioned, the coasting sloops from Boston, carry from hence thither in fish and timber, about five thousand pounds per annum.

9. No mines are yet discovered, except a small quantity of Iron ore in two or three places.

10. The number of inhabitants, men, women and children, are about ten thousand whites, and two hundred blacks.

11. The inhabitants are increased about four thousand within this few years last past, a thousand of which (at least,)are people from Ireland, lately come into, and settled within the province; another reason of the increase of late more than formerly, is a peace with the Indians the four last years.

12. The militia are about eighteen hundred, consisting of two regiments of foot, with a troop of horse in each.

13. There is one fort or place of defence, called Fort William and Mary, situate on the great Island in New-Castle which commands the entrance of Pascataqua river, but is in poor low circumstances, much out of repair, and greatly wanting of stores of war, there not being one barrel of gunpowder, at this time in, or belonging to that garrison.

14. There are no Indians in this province now in time of peace, that we know of.

15. There are no Indians in the neighborhood of this province that we know of, except in the eastern parts of the province of the Massachusetts Bay, and what their number or strength is, we are not acquainted.

16. We have no neighboring Spaniards, or other Europeans, except the French, who, according to the best intelligence we can get, are extremely numerous and strong both at Canada and Cape-Breton.

17. The effect which the French settlements have on this province is, that the Indians are frequently instigated and influenced by them to disturb the peace and quiet of this province, we having been often put to a vast expense both of blood and treasure, to defend ourselves against their cruel outrages.

18. The revenue arising within this province is three hundred ninety and six pounds, by excise, which is appropriated towards the Governor's salary, and about three or four barrels of gun-powder, from the shipping, which is spent at the fort. There is no other revenue, but by tax on polls and estates.

19. The ordinary expense of the government is about fifteen hundred pounds per annum, now in time of peace; the extraordinary and contingent charges, as repairs of the fort, powder, &c., are about five hundred pounds more.

20. The establishments are six hundred pounds per annum salary on the Governor, eight shillings per diem on each Councillor, and six shillings per diem on each Representative during the session of the general assembly, and a hundred and fifty pounds per annum on the officers, and soldiers at the fort. There is no other establishment civil or military within the government, but the general assembly make allowances from time to time as they see meet, to the Treasurer, Secretary, &c. The Judges, Justices, Sheriffs, Clerks, and all other officers' fees are fixed by a law to be paid by the parties and persons whom they serve, but they have nothing out of the treasury. All the officers, civil and military, hold their places by commission from the Governor, except the Councillors, appointed by the King; the Recorder of deeds, chosen by the general assembly, the Clerks of courts, nominated by the Judges of the said courts respectively, and Selectmen, Assessors, Constables, Tythingmen and other town officers, chosen by the towns, at their respective town meetings.

CENSUS OF 1775.

Return of the Number of Inhabitants in the several towns and places in New-Hampshire, taken by order of the Convention, with the number of Fire-Arms, Powder, &c.

COUNTY OF ROCKINGHAM.

	Males under 16.	Males from 16 to 50 not in the army.	Males above 50.	Persons in the Army.	Females.	Negroes and Slaves for life.	Total.	Fire arms & powder. Fire arms fit for use.	Fire arms wanting.	Public stock of Powder.	Powder in private hands.
Portsmouth	1013	823	191	50	2373	140	4590				
Hampton	190	147	62	20	440	3	862	192			94
Exeter	401	273	86	51	892	38	1741	193	150	50	80
Londonderry	618	404	157	66	1316	29	2590	283	183		132
New-Castle	101	85	33		221	9	449	63		68	
Rye	206	146	47	15	442	14	870	170			101
Kingston	214	155	67	27	491	7	961		127		35
Newington	97	90	34	6	266	39	532	93	20	60	
Stratham	252	183	58	17	622	5	1137				
Greenland	169	136	42	10	381	21	759	108	33	45	61
New-Market	322	212	50	30	658	17	1289				
South-Hampton	109	92	27	10	259	1	498	66	31		58
Plaistow	129	85	35	33	288	5	575	46	39		10
Hampstead	182	106	44	35	398	3	768	51	75		32
Salem	296	151	49	47	539	2	1084	104		43	71
Pelham	206	112	40	29	362	0	749	110	40		28
Chester	384	273	101	51	787	3	1599	175	112		30
Hampton-Falls	151	91	42	19	339	3	645	80	15	30	71
Nottingham	268	165	26	22	502	11	999	101	68	53	42
Brentwood	253	174	57	35	577	4	1100	113	68	40	160
North-Hampton	153	97	39	24	335	4	652	122		50	86
East-Kingston	114	63	29	9	210	3	428	65			31
Newtown	121	96	30	8	283	2	540	46	41		
Kensington	172	122	49	39	413	2	797	100			83
Windham	120	86	33	15	262	13	529	69	17		16
Bow	88	47	11	17	187	0	350	33	14		13
Epping	377	242	77	61	793	19	1569				
Epsom	110	57	15	15	189	1	387	44	26		28
Pembroke	179	114	33	23	388	7	744				
Sandown	120	87	12	20	219	1	459	68	39	103	
Hawke	129	76	26	13	260	0	504	52			9

	Males under 16.	Males from 16 to 50 not in the army.	Males above 50.	Persons in the Army.	Females.	Negroes and Slaves for life.	Total.	Fire arms & powder. Fire arms fit for use.	Fire arms wanting.	Public stock of Powder.	Powder in private hands.
Concord	280	186	36	46	490	14	1052	98			
Canterbury	199	124	30	35	331	4	723	45	109	80	
Candia	232	120	19	27	346		744	72	48		
Raymond	187	120	24	13	334		683				
Poplin	153	92	24	7	274	2	552				
Deerfield	250	204	26	30	418	1	929	120	68		51
Atkinson	145	91	30	18	286	5	575	62	49		36
Chichester	117	187	13	4	197		418	47	31	42	
Allenstown	39	18	7	1	82	2	149	11			
Seabrook	144	109	39	11	304		607	74			24
Northwood	85	57	6	10	155		313	36	16		10
Loudon	90	85	9	3	161	1	349	49	36		
Gosport											

COUNTY OF STRAFFORD.

Dover	410	342	74	23	786	26	1666	180		60	
Durham	286	185	68	57	593	25	1214	222		200	76
Lee	236	147	58	12	497	4	954	119	51	24	51
Somersworth	245	129	36	46	479	30	965				
Barrington	464	245	72	23	848	3	1655	184			
Gilmanton	238	151	16	12	357	1	775	99	46	44	5
Sandbornton	120	87	12	20	219	1	459				
Rochester	396	303	61	26	759	3	1548	206		36	36
Madbury	164	117	38	7	345	6	677	78	62	60	60
Barnstead	82	53	4	2	111		252	28	25		
New-Durham	70	59	15	6	144	1	286	27	20		3
Do. Gore	35	20	1	0	44		100		10		
Middleton	72	40	7	6	108		233	27	20		4
Eastown*	86	70	10	4	149	1	320				
Leavitts-Town†	23	16	2	3	39		83	11	5		2
Wolfeborough	57	53	4	4	91	2	211	34	25	25	5
Moultonborough	76	61	9	4	122		272	31			
Sandwich	81	45	9	1	109		245	27		36	
Holderness	49	36	7	0	80		172	25	10		1
Meredith	70	50	7	10	122		259	30	26	50	
Campton	57	44	5	1	83		190				
Tamworth	50	32	2	3	64		151	17			
Gore	4	6	3	1	13		26	4	2		1

* Now Wakefield.

† Now Effingham.

COUNTY OF HILLSBOROUGH.

	Males under 16.	Males from 16 to 50 not in the Army.	Males above 50.	Persons in the Army.	Females.	Negroes and Slaves for life.	Total.	Fire arms & powder.			
								Fire arms fit for use.	Fire arms wanting.	Public stock of Powder.	Powder in private hands.
Amherst	343	240	53	81	707	4	1428	121		41	55
Litchfield	62	44	19	13	136	10	284	39	8	0	28
Boscawen	162	91	33	17	281	1	585	58	65		7
Bedford	109	93	28	14	241	10	495		37	0	11
Derryfield	68	41	15	16	142	3	285	20	20	0	0
Goffstown	215	138	21	40	411	6	831				
Nottingham-West	168	100	36	22	319	4	649	66	32	0	25
Salisbury	142	92	15	6	242	1	498	47	45		
Peterborough	135	77	23	25	277	8	546	23			
Dunbarton	144	92	14	14	232	1	497				
Hopkinton	332	160	30	42	519	2	1085		56		6
Wilton	162	102	17	26	314	2	623	72		47	40
Peterborough Slip	31	17	1	6	52		107	7			
Dunstable	215	88	30	40	325	7	705	46	42	36	41
New-Boston	164	98	27	20	256	4	569				
Weare	248	177	18	32	421	1	837	72			10
Hollis	306	174	71	60	640	4	1255	131	92	0	111
New-Ipswich	268	246	26	42	475	3	960	105	48	74	87
Merrimack	127	110	32	19	305	13	606	79	36		9½
Lyndeborough	201	103	34	27	348	0	713				
Henniker*	117	67	15	9	158	1	367	40		0	0
Hillsborough											
Raby†											
Mason	148	86	12	27	227	1	501	48	49	0	14
Temple	143	94	6	18	230	0	491	66		112	45
Francestown	55	37	7	9	92	0	200	0	11		
Society Land	42	36	8	9	82	0	177				
Warner	78	45	6	6	126	1	262	21	26	0	0
New-Britain‡	56	38	5	3	77	0	179	27		0	0
Perry's-Town§	39	22	5	4	60	0	130	12	17	0	0
Mile Slip‖	20	15	3	3	42	0	83				
Deering											
Fishersfield¶											

* Hillsborough, Antrim, and Hancock, were joined with Henniker in this enumeration.

† Joined with Mason.

‡ Now Andover.

§ Now Sutton.

‖ Including Duxbury farm.

¶ Joined with Sutton, in this enumeration.

COUNTY OF CHESHIRE.

	Males under 16.	Males from 16 to 50 not in the Army.	Males above 50.	Persons in the Army.	Females.	Negroes and Slaves for life.	Total.	Fire arms & Powder. Fire arms fit for use.	Fire arms wanting.	Public stock of Powder	Powder in private hands.
Swanzey	168	118	25	20	316	0	647	72	50	0	16
Walpole	214	100	26	33	283	2	658				
Rindge	135	108	12	35	250	2	542		21		
Westmoreland	213	127	23	38	357	0	758	63	67		
Winchester	207	112	30	18	354	2	723	68			18
Hinsdale											
Gilsum	45	32	10	7	84	0	178	15		0	0
Cornish	83	77	9	4	136	0	309	53	33	0	20
Surry	59	37	8	7	104	0	215	23	22		5
Plainfield	78	83	13	0	134	0	308	36	49		
Charlestown	158	94	17	22	303		594				
Dublin	83	54	9	10	143	1	305	32	31		9
Claremont	148	125	18	1	231	0	523	60	65		
Alstead	88	79	5	4	141	0	317	18		0	0
Marlow	56	45	6	9	91	0	207		26		
Newport	46	39	4	1	67	0	157	14			2
Croydon	37	34	2	3	67	0	143			0	5
Acworth											
Saville	15	14	4	3	29	0	65	5			
Unity	39	35	3	7	62	0	146	13	25	0	0
Jaffrey	90	72	8	16	165	0	351				
Fitzwilliam*											
Marlborough	104	54	2	14	148	0	322	26	28		5
Packersfield	52	34	4	13	83	0	186	23	10		6
Stoddard	75	38	7	11	93	0	224	14	24	0	0
Chesterfield	241	155	30	36	412	0	874	86	99	0	0
Washington	47	29	4	6	77	0	163	13		0	6
Lempster	43	31	4	1	49	0	128	17	18	0	0
Richmond	280	143	16	26	395	0	860	56	88		5
Keene	174	140	24	31	387	0	756	72	92	90	22

COUNTY OF GRAFTON.

Haverhill	97	69	9	17	169	4	365			50	5
Plymouth	93	83	15	8	178	5	382				6
Lebanon	86	91	13	2	155	0	347			60	
New-Chester	66	32	5	5	88	0	196	26	11	0	2
Hanover	98	108	12	22	184	10	434	45	177	48	
Canaan	16	17	3	3	28	0	67	17	0	0	0
Cockermoth	35	23	2	5	53	0	118	18	27	0	3

* Joined with Swanzey in this enumeration.

	Males under 16.	Males from 16 to 50 not in the Army.	Males above 50.	Persons in the Army.	Females.	Negroes and Slaves for life.	Total.	Fire arms & Powder. Fire arms fit for use.	Fire arms wanting.	Public stock of Powder.	Powder in private hands.
Lyme	57	61	10	8	116	0	252	30	31	38	0
Orford	60	42	7	5	106	2	222	13	29	0	30
Rumney	77	41	4	11	104	0	237				0
Piermont	52	28	4	15	69	0	168	1	31	16	0
Bath	47	25	5	10	57	0	144	8	24	15	8
Gunthwaite	14	6	2	5	20	0	47		6	14	
Lancaster	17	15	0	2	27	0	61	8	7	0	11
Alexandria	38	26	7	8	58	0	137	18		0	0
Northumberland	16	20	2	0	19	0	57	7	15	0	70
Thornton	26	26	5	8	52	0	117	6	25	0	3
Lyman											
Conway	79	51	6	18	117	2	273	40	44	25	
Grantham	11	20	4	1	37	1	74	2	18	0	0
Grafton											
Trecothick											
Fairfield											
Coventry											
Landaff	14	8	2	1	15	0	40	1			8
Morristown	10	5	0	1	13	0	29	3	0	0	3
Apthorp											
Dartmouth							4				
Stratford	15	14	0	2	10	0	41	7	7	0	12
Colebrook	0	1	0	0	3	0	4	1			
Cockburne	5	5	0	1	3	0	14	3	2	0	3
Stewart-Town											
Enfield	15	17	1	0	17	0	50	10	7	0	0
Wentworth*											
Warren†											

* Joined with Orford. † Joined with Piermont in this enumeration.

Deaths in Fitzwilliam, N. H., for 21 *years.*

1802	15	1809	13	1816	8
1803	12	1810	8	1817	17
1804	16	1811	11	1818	19
1805	22	1812	28	1819	19
1806	11	1813	7	1820	24
1807	13	1814	14	1821	21
1808	17	1815	19	1822	20

Years, 21 deaths, 324

An accurate Statement of the Troops (Continental and Militia) furnished by the respective States, during the Revolutionary War, from 1775, to 1783, inclusive.

	1775	1776		1777		1778		1779		1780		1781		1782	1783
	Contin.	Contin.	Militia.	Contin.	Militia.	Contin.	Militia.	Contin.	Militia.	Contin.	Militia.	Contin.	Militia.	Contin.	Contin.
New-Hampshire	2824	3019		1172	1111	1283		1004	222	1017	760	700		744	733
Massachusetts	16444	13372	4000	7816	2775	7010	1927	6287	1451	4553	3436	3732	1566	4423	4370
Rhode Island	1193	798	1102	548		630	2426	507	756	915		464		481	372
Connecticut	4507	6390	5737	4563		4010		3544		3133	554	2420	1501	1732	1740
New-York	2075	3629	1715	1903	921	2194		2256		2179	668	1728		1198	1169
New Jersey		3193	5893	1408		1586		1276		1105	162	823		660	675
Pennsylvania	400	5519	4876	4983	2481	3684		3476		3337		1346		1265	1598
Delaware		609	145	229		349		317		325	231	89		164	235
Maryland		637	2592	2030	1535	3307		2849		2065		770		1280	974
Virginia		6181		5744	1289	5236		3973		2486		1215	4331	1204	629
North Carolina		1134		1281		1287		1214				545		1105	697
South Carolina		2069		1650		1650		909							139
Georgia		351		1423		673		87							145
	27,443	46,901	26,060	34,750	10,112	32,899	4,353	27,699	2,429	21,115	5,811	13,832	7,398	14,256	13,076

Total.....Continental, 231,971.—Militia, 56,163.

Topographical Description of Enfield, in the county of Grafton, New-Hampshire.

Enfield, a township in the southwest part of Grafton county, is 42 miles from Concord and 12 miles southeast of Dartmouth college, bounded N. E. by Canaan, S. E. by Grafton, S. W. by Cheshire county line, which divides it from Grantham, and W. by Lebanon, comprising within this space 24,060 acres, of which about 2500 acres are water.

It was incorporated July 4, 1761, just 15 years before the declaration of Independence, and granted to Jedidiah Dana, Nathaniel Turner, Elisha Clark, and others. It was once called Relham.—Nathaniel Bicknell, Jonathan Paddelford, Elisha Bingham, were among the first settlers. The first male child born in Enfield, was Elias Bingham, who long since removed to the state of New-York, son of Elisha Bingham. No anecdotes worthy of note about its first settlement, have been handed down. The first settled minister was Rev. Edward Evans, of the congregational denomination, who was ordained in Dec. 1799, and dismissed in 1805. Under the Rev. Mr. Evans, at the commencement of his ministry, there was an extraordinary conversion, and the church then consisted of more than one hundred communicants. The number since has gradually decreased by death, and removal from the town, and is now small. In the winter and spring of 1816, there was another revival of religion under elder John Sweat of the free-will Baptist denomination, and a new church, over which he presided about five years, consisting of about 62 members, was established. Its present pastor is Rev. Ebenezer Chase, who is also pastor of the religious union society consisting of 60 members, formed Jan. 1, 1822, under the late act of the legislature.

There are 12 school districts, and 12 school houses. The schools are supported by public money,

and generally continue six months, the deficiencies being made up by subscription. Enfield is a post town, and contained in 1810, 1291 inhabitants; in 1820, 1370. Wheat, rye, Indian corn, hay, beef, butter and cheese, are the principal productions.

No very remarkable instance of longevity has happened, but many persons are living at an advanced age. Dea. Moses Jones, an aged and respectable citizen, now (1822) living in this town, was taken captive by the Indians in the French war, into which he entered at the age of 16 years, sold in Canada to the French, and there remained in captivity two years. Mrs. Hannah Stevens, widow of Archelaus Stevens, is between 80 and 90 years of age, her faculties little impaired, possessing health and activity. Mrs. Abigail Marston, wife of Joseph Marston, died upwards of 90 years of age. The number of deaths for any one, or any number of years, cannot be ascertained. The town has been generally healthy, and perfectly free from epidemical diseases.

Its surface is diversified with hills and valleys, and watered by a variety of ponds and streams, stored with fish of every species common in the country. In the southerly part is Mont Calm. Mascomy pond, which has acquired from travellers the appellation of Pleasant, is a beautiful collection of water, 4 miles in length and of various breadth, interspersed with islands and checkered with inlets.—Its eastern banks are covered with trees, which, as the hill ascends, gradually rise one above another for some distance. Along the western bank, between the pond and Mont Calm, within a few rods of the water, extends the 4th N. H. turnpike, the whole distance through a beautiful village, shaded to the north on either side by a second growth of trees. Mascomy river, which takes its rise in Dorchester and runs through Canaan, empties into this pond in the northwest part. It is supposed to have been once much higher than it now is, and the

plain and villages to the south, are supposed to have been the bed of it. This fact is sufficiently evident from the ancient shore, still remaining all around the pond, about 30 feet above high water, and from logs having been frequently found 12 feet below the surface of the plain once flowed. Its fall appears to have been sudden, by an alteration of the outlet. For the convenience of those who resort here for pleasure, there is a fine sail-boat. At the outlet in Lebanon is a village, and on the western bank near the southern extremity, the Shakers' settlement, too much remarked to need particular description. It is raised on a fertile plain; the structure of the buildings, though not lofty, is neat and convenient; its inhabitants are peculiar in their manners and dress, in their economy and religion. Their number consists of about 200. Fifty eight persons have died since the formation of the society. They are agriculturalists and mechanicks. Garden seeds, wooden ware, corn brooms, leather, &c. of their own manufacture, are some of the articles of their traffick. The time and manner of their first appearance, is ascertained from the industry of Mr. George Harris, a religious and worthy gentleman, who kept a diary with minute exactness each day from the time he was twenty one years of age, till the day of his death in 1790, in his seventieth year. The diary is now in the possession of his son, Capt. Joshua Harris of Canaan. It is certainly a rare and valuable curiosity, and the example should be imitated in every considerable family. "1782, September 6. The people called Shaking Quakers, came to Mr. [Joseph] Flint's", south road in Canaan. They were two in number, by name Cooley, and Chauncey. Not being successful in making converts in Canaan, they proceeded to Enfield. They gained adherents, who established themselves on Shaker hill, which is in sight of their present settlement, on the opposite side of Mascomy pond, and on Jones' hill.

They afterwards removed to their present settlement. Asa Pettee, Ezekiel Stevens, James Jewett, Ben Merrill, Zadok Wright, were some of the first converts. The time of their establishment in Enfield according to Mr. Harris' account was in the fall of 1782.

In the east part of the town is East pond, one mile and an half long, and three fourths of a mile wide. The water is deep and abounds with pickerel and trout of a delicious taste, weighing from 5 to 15 pounds. At the outlet of this pond is a pleasant village and the residence of the late Hon. Jesse Johnson. Mud pond is mostly in Canaan, around which, is a marsh that can be shaken for several rods. Its surface is composed of a texture of roots, &c. so strong as to support a man, and abounds with cranberries. Besides these, there are Spectacles pond, so called from its figure, George pond, and Mountain pond,on the summit of Mont Calm, 200 rods long,and 100 rods wide. At the outlets of these ponds, there are mills.

At the base of Mont Calm, north of the Shakers' settlement and near the turnpike, is an iron ore on land of Mr. Abner Paddelford. This ore has been tried and pronounced by Professor Dana to be the best he ever saw, except some from the island of Elba. It can be easily wrought, and there is supposed to be a large quantity. Iron ore has been also found in other parts of the town.

There are two meeting houses, one of which is occupied by the Shakers, 2 carding machines, 2 fulling mills, 1 oil mill, 7 saw mills, 4 grist mills, 3 of which have 2 runs of stones, 4 bark mills, 2 taverns, 4 stores, 1 printing office,* 5 magistrates, 1 coroner, 1 in the profession of law, and 1 in the profession of physick.

---

* Owned by Rev. Ebenezer Chase, who publishes the Masonic Casket, a useful and valuable work. He also publishes the Religious Informer.

Jesse Johnson, Esq. was among the first settlers, was a member of the legislature, and a justice of the peace till his death in 1800. The late Hon. Jesse Johnson, his son, was the first justice of the peace appointed in Enfield, the first representative to the legislature, and one of the first settlers. He was an intelligent and useful citizen. He came to Enfield, aged 17 years, through the wilderness on foot. The year he was of legal age, (21) he was elected town clerk, selectman, representative, and appointed a justice of the peace; he was afterwards member of the state convention, and assisted in forming the present constitution of New-Hampshire; was judge of probate, and judge of the court of common pleas; he was a magistrate 32 years, Proprietors' Clerk upwards of 30, and frequently town clerk and representative. He died Sept. 23, 1816, aged 53 years.

Account of the Great Whirlwind in New-Hampshire, September 9, 1821.

The month of September, 1821, will long be remembered, as a season of uncommon storms and tempests. On the 3d, a most violent storm raged on the whole Atlantic coast, from Portsmouth to Charleston, in which many lives, and a great amount of property, were destroyed. The gale continued during the whole day, and its severity was felt over the whole country. On the sea shore, and in the several harbors, it was terrible. The morning had been dark and gloomy, and at six o'clock the clouds began to discharge their watery contents, not in gentle showers, but literally in torrents. At ten o'clock the rain abated for a few minutes, as if to collect itself for a more copious discharge; for it presently set in again with increased violence, and the wind commenced blowing a heavy gale from N. E. which continued to increase to a most alarming height. From half past

eleven till half past twelve, so great was the fury of the elements, that they seemed to threaten a general demolition of every thing within their reach.—During that period the scene they presented was truly awful. The deafening roar of the storm, and the mingled crushing of windows and chimneys, and falling timbers, with the continuous torrents of rain, together inspired the beholder with the greatest terror. About twelve o'clock, the wind shifted round to N. W. but without abating its fury until half an hour after, when it ceased raining; the storm began to subside, and the water to recede. At four o'clock it changed to S. W. and the weather became calm and serene.

This storm, though one of the most violent ever known in New-Hampshire, produced little injury, in comparison with the whirlwind of the ninth of the same month.

After the great rains of the third and fourth, the weather was pleasant and generally calm. The eighth and ninth were warm, the latter sultry.—The wind in the afternoon blew from the southwest, until about 6 o'clock, when a dark cloud was observed to rise rapidly in the north and northwest, and passing in a south-easterly direction, illumined in its course by incessant flashes of lightning. There was a most terrifying commotion in the cloud itself; and its appearance gave notice that irresistible power and desolation were its attendants. Few, however, apprehended the danger that was threatening, or that their dwellings, which had long withstood the fury of the tempest, were to be swept away, like leaves before the winds of autumn.

The tornado was felt, and it is said to have commenced near Lake Champlain; hail storms and violent winds were also experienced in various parts of the United States,* at the same time, and nearly

* The village of Poughkeepsie, N. Y. was this day visited by a destructive hail storm. Its duration was about 10 minutes, during which an unusual quantity of hail fell, and in balls measuring from ten to fourteen inches in circumference, and

at the same period in the West-Indies. The whirlwind entered this state at Cornish, and crossing the mountain, gathered in strength as it passed through Croydon. Here the house of Deacon Cooper was shattered; his barn and its contents entirely swept away. Passing on in a direction E. S. E., in its progress collecting into a narrower compass its power, its path was along the low lands, till it came to the farm and buildings of Harvey Huntoon in Wendell, about 80 rods distant from the borders of the Sunapee Lake. The people in the house, eight in number, were frightened by the appearance of the cloud. They saw the air before it filled with birds and broken limbs of trees. In an instant the house and two barns were prostrated to the ground. A side of the house fell upon Mr. H. and his wife, who were standing in the kitchen. The next instant it was blown off and dashed to pieces. The woman was carried across the field. A Mrs. Wheeler, who with her husband and child were then living in the house, had taken her child and fled to the cellar.—Mr. W. found himself in the cellar covered with timbers and bricks, and much injured. A child

---

weighing from three to fourteen ounces. A tornado which occurred in Massachusetts, at the precise time with that here, is thus described in a Worcester paper.—"About 6 o'clock, Sunday evening, September 9th, a black and terrific cloud appeared a little south of the centre of Northfield, Franklin Co. nearly in the form of a pyramid reversed, moving very rapidly and with a terrible noise. In its progress it swept away or prostrated all the trees, fences, stone walls, and buildings which came within its vortex, which in some places was not more than 20 rods and in others 40 or 50. It passed from Northfield through Warwick and Orange, to the southwesterly part of Royalston, where its force was broken by Tully Mountain. Its path was strewed for the distance of 25 miles, through the towns of Royalston, Winchendon, Ashburnham and Fitchburg, with fragments of buildings, sheaves of grain, bundles of corn stalks, clothing, &c.

"Several persons were killed and wounded, numerous houses, barns, &c demolished, and many domestic animals in the track of the tornado were destroyed—Large trees were taken 200 feet into the air, and logs which would require 4 oxen to remove them were swept out of the bed of Tully river where they had lain for more than half a century. The ground was torn up from the river to the mountain a distance of 40 rods, from one foot to six feet deep. The surface of the earth was broken, throughout the whole course of the whirlwind, as with the ploughshare of destruction. Stones of many hundred pounds weight, were rolled from their beds. Lots of wood were whirled into promiscuous heaps, with roots and tops, and tops and roots. The appearance presented by the track of the whirlwind indicated as near as the writer can judge from actual inspection, that the form of the cloud, and the body of air in motion, was that of an inverted pyramid, drawing whatever came within its influence towards its centre of motion."

eleven months old was sleeping upon a bed in the west part of the house; the gown which it wore was soon after found in the water on the shore of the lake, 150 rods from the house, and on the Wednesday following, the mangled body of the child was found on the west shore of the lake, whither it had floated on the waves. Though the sun was an hour above the horizon, it was now as dark as midnight. The air was filled with leaves, fragments of trees and gravel. The bedstead on which the child lay was found in the woods eighty rods from the house northerly and out of the general track of the wind. And the feather-bed was afterwards found in Andover by a Mr. Durgin, and restored to Mr. Huntoon. Bricks from the chimney of the house were carried to the distance of one hundred rods; large pieces of timber, belonging to the house and barns, some seven and eight inches square and twelve feet long, were carried eighty and ninety rods; a pair of cart wheels were separated from the body and spire, carried about sixty rods and dashed to pieces; a large iron pot was blown upwards of seven rods; nearly all the trees of a middling sized orchard were blown down, many of them torn up and carried from seventy to an hundred rods into the woods; casks, furniture, clothing and dead fowls, were found at a much greater distance. The only furniture found near the house was a kitchen chair. A bureau was blown across the lake, two miles wide at that place, and excepting the drawers, was found half a mile beyond the lake, the whole distance being two miles and three quarters! From the buildings the land rises about one hundred feet in the distance of fifty rods, then descends to the lake. A door post of the barn, of beech, thirteen feet long, eight by twelve inches square, was blown through the air up this rising ground forty-four rods. A large hemlock log, sixty feet in length and three feet in diameter at the butt, and nearly two at the top, was moved from its bed,

where it had lain eight or ten years, and carried by the wind up hill and over two large rocks seventeen inches above the ground, situated about six feet from where it lay, to the distance of six rods. The rise of land in this distance is ten feet six inches. It struck a rock, which breaking it in two, stopped its progress. A piece of wood, heavily timbered, one hundred rods east, of forty acres, was entirely prostrated; not a whole tree was left standing on any part of it. A horse was blown up the rise before mentioned, forty rods, and so injured as to make it necessary to kill him. No human lives were lost, excepting that of the child.—All the other seven persons, however, were injured, and some of them very severely. A house and barn belonging to Isaac Eastman were much shattered, but not entirely ruined. The path of the whirlwind here was about half a mile wide.

From Wendell, the hurricane passed across lake Sunapee in a most terrific inverted pyramidical column, drawing up into its bosom vast quantities of water. Its appearance on the lake was in the highest degree sublime. About twenty rods in diameter at the surface of the water, it expanded on each side toward the heavens; its body dark as midnight, but occasionally illuminated by vivid flashes of lightning. New-London lies on the easterly shore of the lake, and the loss of property in this town was estimated at $9000. Fortunately, no persons were killed. The house and other buildings of John Davis standing directly in the path of the tornado, were entirely demolished. Not a timber nor a board was left on the ground where the house stood, nor a brick remained in its original place in the chimney. A hearth-stone weighing seven or eight hundred pounds was removed from its bed and turned upon one edge. All the furniture of the house, together with the bedding, clothing, &c. was swept away, and not the value of five dollars of it was ever found. The family were pro-

videntially absent from the house. Three barns belonging to Josiah Davis were blown away, and his house much shattered. From a bureau standing in the corner of a room one drawer was taken and carried out at the window with its contents, and has never been found. A house belonging to Jonathan Herrick was unroofed, the windows broken, and much furniture and clothing blown away, but fortunately none of the family were injured. A new two-story house frame nearly covered, belonging to Nathan Herrick, and two barns, were blown down. A house and barn belonging to Asa Gage were unroofed, and two sheds carried away. Anthony Sargent had one barn torn to pieces, another unroofed, and two sheds blown away. Deac. Peter Sargent had a barn blown down, one unroofed, and a shed torn to pieces. A house belonging to Widow Harvey was unroofed, and a barn torn down. A barn of J. P. Sabin's was torn down. A barn of Levi Harvey's blown to pieces—also a saw mill torn down and twelve thousand of boards in the mill-yard carried away; a grist mill moved some distance, and a hog house containing a hog that would weigh between three and four hundred pounds, was carried two rods and thrown upon the top of a stone wall, when it fell into fragments, and the hog, disengaged from his prison, walked away unhurt. The shores of the lake on the following morning, were covered with the ruins of buildings, fences, furniture, &c. which had fallen in the tempest. Parallel to the lake shore stood a stone wall. The stones of this were scattered at various distances: some of the stones weighing seventy pounds were carried to the distance of two rods up a rise of at least four feet in that distance. A pair of cart wheels, strongly bound with iron, and almost new, with the spire and axle were carried ten rods, the spire broken off in the middle, all the spokes but two broken out of one wheel and more than half of the other. All the

trees in an orchard of one hundred, without a single exception, were prostrated, and one half were carried entirely away. The trunk of one divested of its principal roots and limbs, was found at a distance of half a mile at the top of quite a long hill. A piece of timber (apparently a part of a barn beam) ten inches square and ten or twelve feet in length, was carried a quarter of a mile up the same hill. Near the top of the hill was an excavation thirty-five or forty feet in length, some places two or three feet in depth, partially filled with mangled timbers and boards, and apparently made by the alighting of one side of a barn, which must have taken an aerial flight of more than eighty rods. The extent of the whirlwind in New-London was about four miles, varying in width as the column alternately rose and fell. From thence it passed up the N. W. side of Kearsarge mountain apparently in two columns, which closed again in one as it settled down the opposite side into Warner.

For the particulars of the narrative thus far, the writer is indebted to intelligent gentlemen in Newport, Wendell and New-London, who were eye-witnesses of the desolation. A few days after, in company with several gentlemen from Hopkinton and Warner, the writer of this article visited the ruins in the latter mentioned town, near the Kearsarge mountain, in that part formerly called the Gore. No person could conceive without visiting the spot, the horrors of that instant—it was but an instant—when houses, barns, trees, fences, fowls,&c. were all lifted from the earth into the bosom of the whirlwind, and anon dashed into a thousand pieces. We stood amidst the ruins almost discrediting our own vision, but awfully impressed with the thought that the place was one, where the hand of Omnipotence had been exhibited, to teach man his impotence, in a manner that should be understood and remembered. It can hardly, however, be said that we stood among the ruins, for most of

them had been carried beyond our sight. A few large stones remaining in their places, and others strewed on each side for several feet, indicated where a stone wall had stood; a few fragments of timber, and a small quantity of hay, which had since been gathered together, denoted the spot where stood the barns; a few timbers and bricks, and at one place the floor remained, of what composed the dwellings of the two Savarys; and the feathers here and there discovered in the dust, shewed that the very fowls of heaven, that had often sported with the clouds, could not fly the swift destruction.

From the mountain there is a rapid descent into the Gore. In the valley formed between the mountain and a high hill S. E. before it, stood seven dwelling-houses, comprising all the habitations in that part of the Gore. The tornado came over the mountain in the direction of the buildings, and first struck the barn of William Harwood, carrying it away; passing onward, it injured the houses of M. F. Goodwin, J. Ferrin, and Abner Watkins, completely destroying Ferrin's barn and unroofing Watkins'. Next in the direction of the wind, stood the dwelling of Daniel Savary. Apprehending a wind, Mr. Samuel Savary, aged 72 years, the father of the proprietor of the buildings, who was himself absent, went up stairs to fasten down a window. The women started to his assistance, when, as they represent, the house seemed to whirl and instantly rose above their heads, while what was left behind, timbers, bricks, &c., almost literally buried six of the family in the ruins. The body of the aged Samuel Savary was found at the distance of six rods from the house, his brains dashed out against a stone. Elizabeth, his wife, was very much injured by the falling timbers which fell across her. Mary, the wife of Daniel S. was severely bruised on her head, arms and breast, and an infant which she held in her arms was killed. The three chil-

dren were much bruised, but had sufficiently recovered to tell us their artless tale, and show the traces of the storm. This family were extricated by the assistance of the elder Mrs. Savary, who, though very considerably injured, had the most surprising strength in removing the timbers and bricks, beneath which could be faintly heard the cries of the sufferers.

The house of Robert Savary, was also demolished. Mrs. S. says she anticipated a shower, and went into a bed-room to take up a child, and was conscious of nothing more, till she found herself confined among the timbers, greatly bruised, but the child unhurt—her husband buried altogether in the bricks, with the exception of his head—and two of their children completely covered up in the splinters and rubbish. This family, consisting of eight persons, were all wounded, but none dangerously.

John Palmer, who lives up a rise, distant half a mile, and was out at the door, saw the cloud coming over the mountain, in shape, as he represents, like a tunnel, the air filled with leaves, limbs of trees, &c. He immediately attempted to enter the door, but was caught by the arm; at the same instant the breast work and chimney gave way, and a part of the frame buried Mrs. P. who was attempting to force open the door for her husband, under the bricks and timber. Mrs. P. was considerably hurt, the remainder of the family not materially injured.

The wind, in passing from the Savary's to Palmer's, tore up every thing in its course, throwing splinters of the buildings, pieces of furniture, crockery, &c., in every direction for a mile; ten hives of bees were destroyed; the legs, wings and heads of fowls were to be seen lying about; several acres of corn and potatoes adjacent to the buildings were swept off clean, not leaving an ear, save at some distance a few in heaps; stones half buried in the earth were overturned, and we saw one which

would weigh 500 lbs. moved several feet; a hem lock log 60 feet in length, half buried in the earth, was taken from its bed and carried six rods forward, while a knot from the same log was carried fifteen paces back, and driven with great force two feet under the turf; a bridge covered with large oaks split in the middle, was torn up, and the timbers strewed for a quarter of a mile in a southerly direction.

From these dwellings it passed over the hill two and an half miles and down perhaps one hundred feet, where it swept off all the buildings of Mr. Peter Flanders, killing a Miss Anna Richardson and an infant child. All the others, seven in number, were wounded, some badly, and Mr. F. so severely, that for several days his life was despaired of. They informed us that no sound of wind was heard, although some might have observed the cloud, until the crash of the buildings took place, and then all was over in an instant.

The buildings of Deac. Joseph True, situated in a corner of Salisbury, were next swept away. Mr. T. and his father-in-law, a Mr. Jones, who with his wife were there on a visit, being at the door, saw the whirlwind approach, and had just time to hide themselves, one under his shop a few paces distant, and the other down by a pile of wood, when the buildings were whirled aloft and stripped into splinters, with the exception of some heavy sticks of timber, one of which plunged end-ways into the ground two feet by the side of Jones lying by the wood, and the other end leaning upon the pile, protected him from other sticks which fell across.—Neither Jones nor True was hurt. And by their exertions, Mrs. True and three or four children were dug out from beneath the bricks, where they were actually buried more than a foot. The oven had just been heated, and the bricks were so hot that in removing them from his children, Mr. T. had his fingers burnt to the bone! Mrs. T. and

several of the family were badly burnt, and one child was so disfigured as hardly to be known. The youngest child, an infant seven weeks old, was found at the distance of one hundred feet under the bottom of a sleigh, the top of which could not be found. The amazing power of the wind may be faintly imagined from the evidences which we saw. In one place near Deacon True's, a hemlock log 2 1-2 feet through and 36 feet long, and nearly half buried in the earth, was moved one or two rods. At another place, two hemlock logs of the same size with the other, one sixty-five feet long and the other about forty, lying across each other, were removed about twelve feet and left in the same situation as before. The entire top of one of the chimneys was carried ten rods, and the bricks left together on one spot. Mr. True saw a tree whirling perpendicularly in the air to an immense height. An elm tree standing a little south of Savary's, measuring seventeen inches diameter, whose enormous roots refused to yield, and being too tough to break, was twisted round like a withe; and a few ash trees, standing at the foot of the hill, were stripped of bark and limbs, and split literally into basket-stuff!

The tornado then passed into Warner again, tearing down a barn, and passing over a pond, the waters of which seemed to be drawn up in its centre, terminated its ravages in this quarter, in the woods of Boscawen.

The preceding narrative, although to many an eye it may seem to partake rather of the marvellous, than of sober reality, is nevertheless literally true; and there are hundreds still living, whose testimony, if necessary, could be produced in corroboration. Of the destruction at Warner, and the terror of the awful scene, those who visited the place soon after had ample demonstration. We there saw the stone against which the unfortunate Savary was crushed—the places from whence were

dug the children of True and Savary—the children themselves mangled and torn—the mothers mourning the loss of an aged husband and an infant child. We witnessed the awe of the inmates of these distressed families. We stood at the foot of the mountain, and surveyed the track of the whirlwind: it appeared as if a rushing torrent had poured down the mountain for many days, the earth being torn up, the grass withered, and nothing fresh and living to be seen in the path of desolation. May God in his mercy avert such another catastrophe.

Newspaper Extraordinary, 1689.

[If the following may be considered as a Newspaper Extra., it was probably one of the earliest printed in this country. It was published by Samuel Green of Boston, in 1689, at the time that Dr. Increase Mather was endeavoring to procure a new charter for the colony of Massachusetts.]

The Present State of the New-English Affairs.

This is Published to preuent False Reports.

An extract of a letter from Mr. Mather, to the Governour, Dated Sept. 3, 1689, *from Deal in Kent.*

The House of Commons ordered a bill to be drawn up for the restoration of charters to all corporations. Some enemies of *New England*, did bestir themselves on that occasion. But it has pleased God to succeed endeavours and solicitations here so far, as that *N. E.* is particularly mentioned in the bill.

It has been read twice, and after that referred unto a committee for Emendations. What concerns *New England* passed without any great opposition. The bill has been in part read the third time, and the charters of *New England* then also passed without objection. Only some additional clauses respecting corporations here caused debates; so that the bill is not as yet enacted.

In the latter end of June, a vessel from *Mount Hope* arrived here, which brought your declaration of *April* 18, with an account of the revolution in *New England*. The week after I went to *Hampton Court*, and had the favour to wait on His Majesty, who told me, *that he did accept of, and was well pleased with what was done in* New-England, *and that he would order the Secretary of State to signify so much, that his subjects there should have their ancient rights and privileges restored to them.*

The King has sent a gracious letter (which was delivered to me, and if I return not myself, I shall take care that it be sent to you) bearing date *August* 12. *Wherein he signifies his royal approbation* of what has been done at Boston, and assures you that the government there shall be settled, so as shall be for the security and satisfaction of his subjects in that colony, and in the mean time bids you go on to administer the laws, and manage the government according as in your address you have petitioned.

My Lord *Mordant* (now Earl of *Monmouth*) bade me assure you that he would be your friend, and he bade me tell you from him, *that your charters should be restored to you by Act of Parliament.*

I have been with most of the King's most honorable privy council, who have promised to befriend *New England* as there shall be occasion for it. The like I may say, of all the leading men in the Parliament.

I have been in the *Downs* a fortnight, and aboard Mr. *Clark*, several nights, but the wind has been against us. And we now hear that the *New-found Land* Convoyes (on whose assistance we had a dependance) are gone.

Superscribed to the honorable Simon Bradstreet, Esq. Governor of the Massachusetts Colony in N-England.

mund Andross, Edward Randolph, *and others, that have been seized by the people of* Boston, *and shall be at the receipt of these commands, detained there under confinement, be sent on board the first ship bound to* England, *to answer what may be objected against them.*

Witchcraft in New-Hampshire, 1656.

Complaint of Susannah Trimmings, of Little-Harbour, Pascataqua.

On Lord's Day 30th of March, at night, going home with Goodwife Barton, she separated from her at the freshet next her house. On her return, between Goodman Evens' and Robert Davis's, she heard a rustling in the woods, which she at first thought was occasioned by swine, and presently after, there did appear to her a woman whom she apprehended to be old Goodwife Walford. She asked me where my consort was; I answered, I had none. She said, thy consort is at home by this time. Lend me a pound of cotton. I told her I had but two pounds in the house, and I would not spare any to my mother. She said I had better have done it; that my sorrow was great already, and it should be greater—for I was going a great journey, but should never come there. She then left me, and I was struck *as with a clap of fire* on the back, and she vanished toward the water side, in my apprehension, in the *shape of a cat.* She had on her head a white linen hood tied under her chin, and her waistcoat and petticoat were red, with an old green apron and a black hat upon her head.—Taken upon oath 18th April, 1656, before

Bryan Pendleton,
Henry Sherburne,
Renald Fernald.

Her husband (Oliver) says, she came home in a sad condition. She passed by me with her child in her arms, laid the child on the bed, sat down on the chest and leaned upon her elbow. Three times I asked her how she did.—She could not speak. I took her in my arms and held her up, and repeated the question. She forced breath, and something stopped in her throat as if it would have stopped her breath. I unlaced her clothes, and soon she spake and said, Lord have mercy upon me, this wicked woman will kill me. I asked her what woman. She said, Goodwife Walford. I tried to persuade her it was only her weakness. She told me no, and related as above, that her back was as a flame of fire, and her lower parts were as it were numb and without feeling. I pinched her and she felt not. She continued that night and the day and night following very ill, and is still bad of her limbs and complains still daily of it.

Sworn as above.

A witness deposed, June 1656, that he was at Goodman Walford's, 30th March, 1656, at the time mentioned by Mrs. Trimmings, and that Goodwife Walford was at home till quite dark, as well as she ever was in her life.

Nicholas Rowe, testified that Jane Walford, shortly after she was accused, came to the deponent in bed in the evening and put her hand upon his breast so that he could not speak, and was in great pain till the next day. By the light of the fire in the next room it appeared to be Goody Walford, but she did not speak. She repeated her visit about a week after, and did as before, but said nothing.

Eliza Barton, deposed that she saw Susannah Trimmings at the time she was ill, and her face was coloured and spotted with several colours. She told the deponent the story, who replied, that it it was nothing but her *fantasy*; her eyes looked as if they had been scalded.

John Puddington, deposed, that three years since Goodwife Walford came to his mothers's—She said that her own husband called her an old Witch; and when she came to her cattle, her husband would bid her begone, for she did overlook the cattle, which is as much as to say in our country, *bewitching*.

Agnis Puddington, deposes, that on the 11th of April, 1656, the wife of W. Evens came to her house and lay there all night; and a little after sun-set, the deponent saw a yellowish cat; and Mrs. E. said she was followed by a cat wherever she went. John came, and saw a cat in the garden—took down his gun to shoot her; the cat got up on a tree, and the gun would not take fire, and afterwards the cock would not stand. She afterwards saw three cats—the yellow one vanished away on the plain ground; she could not tell which way they went.

John Puddington, testifies to the same effect.

Three other deponents say, they heard *Eliz*, the wife of Nicholas Rowe, say, that *there were three men Witches at Strawberry Bank;* one was Thomas Turpin, who was drowned; another, old Ham, and the third should be "nameless, because he should be blameless." Goodwife Walton was bound over to the next Court.

Court of Associates, June, 1656.

Jane Walford being brought to this court, upon suspicion of being a Witch, is to continue bound until the next court, to be responsive.

This complaint was probably *dropped* at the *next term*. Goodwife Walford brought an action of Slander in the County Court, 22d March, 1669, against one Robert Coutch, and laid her damages at one thousand pounds.

Declaration in an action of slander for saying that the said Jane was a Witch, and he could prove her one, which is very greatly to her damage.

Verdict for Plaintiff, Walford, five pounds and costs of court.